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MILTON'S AREOPAGITICA:

A SPEECH FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING.

WITH NOTES FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

BY

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MILTON'S AREOPAGITICA.

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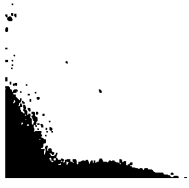

MILTON'S AREOPAGITICA.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE early history of the practice of licensing books is set forth at sufficient length by Milton in the following pages. What he omitted is given in full in those passages of the 'History of the Council of Trent' which are to be found in the Appendix, and which he evidently had before him when he wrote the 'Areopagitica.'

To give a complete view of the subject, it is necessary to add a sketch of the history of the Licensing Laws in our own country.

'In England, as in other countries,' says Blackstone, 'the art of printing, soon after its introduction, was looked upon as merely a matter of state, and subject to the coercion of the crown. It was therefore regulated with us by the king's proclamations, prohibitions, charters of privilege and of license, and finally by the decrees of the Court of Star Chamber; which limited the number of printers and of presses which each should employ, and prohibited new publications unless previously approved by proper licensers.'[1]

[1] Blackstone, vol. iv.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the Crown assumed absolute control over printing, partly by the king's general prerogative and partly by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy. Thus it became usual to grant by letters patent the exclusive right of printing the Bible [1] or religious books, and afterwards all others. The Stationers' Company, which was founded in the reign of Mary (1555), was allowed a monopoly of printing presses, but was obliged to purchase this privilege by submission to the regulations of the Star Chamber. These not only limited the number of presses and the men who should be employed on them, but subjected new publications to the previous inspection of a licenser. The Star Chamber again, in 1585, restricted all presses to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and nothing was to be printed without allowance of the Council. The regular establishment of licensers of the press is generally attributed to Archbishop Laud's influence. At his trial in 1644 the charge was brought against him, 'That, having obtained the sole licensing of the press by a declaration of the Star Chamber in 1637, he had prohibited sundry orthodox works formerly printed and sold by authority, as the Geneva Bible with notes, &c.' To the Archbishop's reply, that the decree was the act of the whole Court and not his, the managers rejoined that it was procured by him with a design to enlarge his jurisdiction. This decree, which is stated in the preamble to be a revision of that of 1585, formed the basis of all subsequent regulations. All books were prohibited except those which had been duly entered with the Stationers' Company and licensed in the following way: books of law

[1] This monopoly has been maintained in favour of the Royal printers up to the present day: it was abolished for a time under the Commonwealth with very unfortunate results.

by the Lord Chief Baron or one of the Chief Justices; books of history or politics by the principal Secretaries of State; those of heraldry by the Earl Marshal; and those of divinity, physic, philosophy, and poetry, and all other subjects, by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, or, if printed at a university, by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor. The number of master printers was limited to twenty, and of printing presses to forty, and restrictions were put upon type-founding. Extensive powers were given to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to search houses and shops, and to open bales of imported merchandise in search of unlicensed books. Severe penalties of fine, imprisonment, and corporal punishment were denounced against offenders.

The Court of Star Chamber was overthrown in 1641, but the Long Parliament assumed the same powers with respect to the licensing of books. Their first order (1642), of which Milton speaks with approval, merely required the printer's or the author's name. Another followed, which was directed against secret presses. The Order which called forth Milton's eloquent protest was dated June 14, 1643, and was simply a reproduction of part of the decree of 1637. The official licensers were more numerous; for divinity, twelve ministers of no great eminence; for law, four sergeants-at-law; for physic, five members of the College of Physicians; for heraldry, one of the Kings-at-arms; for philosophy, history, poetry, &c., Sir N. Brent and two masters of St. Paul's School; for mathematics, the reader of Gresham College; and for pamphlets, the clerk to the Stationers' Company. Other regulations followed in 1647, 1649, 1652, which were all founded on the decree of 1637. It is worthy of remark that the liberty of the press was never infringed by the Statute Law of England

till 1662. Selden said truly in the House of Commons in 1628, 'There is no *law* to prevent the printing of any book in England, only a decree in the Star Chamber.' The ordinances of the Long Parliament were framed into the Statute of 1662 (13 & 14 Car. II. c. 33), which was intended to last for three years. It was twice renewed, but expired in 1679, and the House of Commons was not likely at this time (the time of the Habeas Corpus Act and the Exclusion Bill) to revive it. The Bill was renewed as a matter of course in 1685 for a term of years, which was completed in 1693, and was prolonged for two years after some opposition. Under Charles II. and James II. the office of licenser was held by Sir Roger L'Estrange, the editor of the 'London Gazette,' and a most scurrilous Tory pamphleteer. He was removed from this office at the Revolution, and was succeeded by a Scotch Whig of the name of Fraser. He in turn was compelled to resign in 1692 in consequence of the outcry of the Tories against his licensing Walker's book, which proved that Dr. Gauden and not Charles I. was the author of the 'Icon Basilike.' Edmund Bohun, who succeeded him, was a violent Tory, who submitted to William III. on the ground that he was king by right of conquest. His censorship was exceedingly unpopular among Whig writers and publishers. Among other books, he refused to license a 'History of the Bloody Assizes,' which was expected to have an immense sale. He was first assailed in a tract, entitled, 'A Just Vindication of Learning and of the Liberty of the Press, by Philopatris.' The author of this was Charles Blount, a violent Whig, a flippant infidel, and a third-rate pamphleteer, but nevertheless the man to whom, above all others, we owe the abolition of the Licensing Laws. His tract, which was copied mainly from Milton and Bacon, was so

well received that another soon followed. There still remained in the 'Areopagitica' many fine passages which he had not used in his first pamphlet, and out of these he constructed his 'Reasons for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,' with a postscript, entitled, 'A Just and True Character of Edmund Bohun.' When the public attention was roused by these works, Blount craftily induced Bohun the censor to license a pretended Tory pamphlet, entitled, 'King William and Queen Mary Conquerors,' which was really written by himself to put the Tory principles in as odious a light as possible. The plot succeeded. A storm of popular indignation was raised; Blount was summoned before the House of Commons and imprisoned, and the king was requested to remove him from the office of licenser. After this, for the first time, opposition was raised to the renewal of the Licensing Act, and it was renewed for only two years. In the House of Lords it was proposed, in accordance with Milton's suggestion, to exempt from the authority of the licenser every book which bore the name of an author and publisher, but this proposal was rejected. In 1695 a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider what temporary statutes were about to expire, and which of them it might be expedient to continue, recommended the renewal of the censorship of the press. This was rejected by the Commons, but was supported by the Lords. At a conference of the two Houses, a paper[1] was read containing the reasons which had determined the Commons not to renew the Licensing Act. All of these related to matters of detail—the extortions of the Stationers' Company, the fees of the licenser, the damage done to valuable books by

[1] Said to have been written by John Locke.

detention at custom-houses, and the like. 'Such,' says Macaulay, 'were the arguments which did what Milton's "Areopagitica" failed to do.' The Lords yielded without a contest, and though several subsequent efforts were made during the reign of William III. (in 1696, 1697, 1698) to revive the Licensing Acts, they all failed, and English literature was emancipated for ever from the control of Government.

Milton's noble protest against the restrictions on the press was mainly due to his disappointment in the Presbyterian party. They had loudly complained of these restrictions when they were the sufferers, but enforced them with much vigour as soon as ever they came into power. There is nothing to show that his treatise produced any immediate effect, but in 1649 Gilbert Mabbot, one of the licensers of the press, resigned his office on the ground that that employment was, as he conceived, unjust and illegal.

Milton himself suffered much from the licensing regulations from all parties in turn. An important passage was expunged from his tract called, 'A Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1641.' His 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce' gave so much offence that, by request of the Westminster Assembly, he was summoned before the House of Lords in August 1644 to answer for it, but was soon dismissed. An attack was made on this work in a pamphlet which was not merely licensed, but specially recommended by one of the licensers of the press (Joseph Caryl, author of a commentary on Job, one of the twelve divines appointed by the Order of 1643), and led to a severe rejoinder on the licenser as well as the author. Meanwhile, in November 1644, appeared this treatise, the 'Areopagitica,' which seems to have been

printed surreptitiously, and to have suffered the usual fate of unlicensed pamphlets, poor and incorrect printing. In his 'History of England,' published in 1670, many passages were expunged on the ground that they had a hidden reference to the politics of his own time. The publication of 'Paradise Lost' in 1667 was hindered and well nigh prevented by the licenser on the most frivolous grounds, as, for instance, that the noble simile comparing Satan to the sun in eclipse (P. L. i. 594–8) had a treasonable reference to Charles II.

Many examples could be adduced from literary history of the mutilation of important works in the press. Camden's 'Life of Elizabeth' and Lord Herbert of Cherbury's 'History of Henry VIII.' are two well-known instances. In the poems of Fulk Grevil, Lord Brooke, a long poem on Religion was cancelled by Archbishop Laud. Sir Matthew Hale left all his MSS. to Lincoln's Inn, and, from fear that they would be mutilated by the licenser, gave orders that none of them should be printed. The 'Institutes' of Sir Edward Coke, a posthumous work published in 1641, is said to have suffered severely under the licenser's hands. Many more instances might be quoted, but these are sufficient to illustrate the working of the press regulations in Milton's time.

Milton's prose style is singularly vigorous and eloquent. 'His works,' says Macaulay, 'deserve the attention of every man who wishes to become acquainted with the full power of the English language. They abound with passages compared with which the finest declamations of Burke sink into insignificance. They are a perfect field of cloth of gold. The style is stiff with gorgeous embroidery. Not even in the earlier books of the "Paradise Lost" has he ever risen higher than in those parts of his contro-

versial works in which his feelings, excited by conflict, find a vent in bursts of devotional and lyric rapture. It is, to borrow his own majestic language, "a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." He is a rhetorical rather than a logical writer, and, though his reasoning is sometimes clear and powerful, declamation usually mingles with and occasionally gets the better of argument. His style is by no means a model for imitation. It is lacking in simplicity, often disfigured by foreign expressions, and cumbersome in its constant inversions and Latin idioms. It is strangely unequal: learned phraseology and the most familiar expressions are constantly intermingled, and, too often, his noble bursts of lofty, glowing eloquence are succeeded by poor, coarse, vulgar invective. His ear was cultivated even to fastidiousness, and the rhythm of his prose is as distinct and as measured as that of his poetry, yet, partly from his desire to avoid excessive smoothness, and partly from changes in pronunciation and accent, the effect is usually harsh and unpleasing to a modern reader. His vocabulary is very extensive, but includes many barbarous words of his own coinage, or adopted from foreign languages, which have happily failed to gain currency. It has been observed that, while the language of his prose works is strangely antiquated now, that of his poetry differs but slightly from the standard of our modern English, and this is explained for the most part by the comparatively small proportion of foreign expressions in his poems. Milton was not altogether above the taste of his age for conceits and plays upon words,[1] but his use of them is sparing, and never reaches the absurd

[1] E.g.: a temporizing and extemporizing licenser, p. 45; differences or rather indifferences, p. 68; Janus with his two *controversal* faces, p. 65.

extravagances of Cowley, Fuller, and other of his contemporaries.

His orthography is very peculiar, but much is to be attributed to the unsettled standard of spelling at this period of our literature, 'when,' as Johnson says, 'every man had his own scheme, and they agreed only in one general design of accommodating the letters to the pronunciation by ejecting such as they thought superfluous.' There is abundant evidence to prove that Milton's spelling is systematic: the proof-sheets of 'Paradise Lost' were corrected by him with the most painful minuteness, even to the spelling of the smallest words. His system is phonetic, simply expressing the sound of the word by its form, though sometimes his scholarly instincts betrayed him into a slight regard for etymology. We thus gain some information as to the pronunciation current in his time, but this is liable to the objection that Milton's notion of the sound was not the one generally accepted.[1] As instances, we have 'divell,' 'bin,' 'furder,' 'anough' and 'anow,' 'ougly,' 'hearbs,' 'lantskip,' and many others: 'revénnus' retains a pronunciation still employed in Parliament, though generally discarded elsewhere.

The following words, all taken from the present work, sufficiently illustrate his ordinary usage: *citty*, *linnen*, *aymed*, *fantasm*, *suttlest*, *dispredders*, *dore*, *feavor*, *yoak*, *theam*, *survay*.

Milton does not use the apostrophe as a mark of the possessive case. He often uses the old English inflection in *es*, as *country*, *countries* (p. 17), but if he drops the *e*

[1] See Trench, 'English Past and Present,' for an exposure of the fallacy that phonetic spelling ensures uniformity. On this very principle the word 'sudden' is spelt in fifteen different ways.

the omission is not marked in any way; hus, '*a coits distance*' (p. 47).

On the other hand, he uses the apostrophe to mark the suppression of *e* in the plural of nouns whose singular ends in a vowel; thus, limbo, limbo's (p. 28), balcone, balcone's (p. 39). Silent, and therefore, in Milton's theory, unnecessary, letters are usually omitted, as *iland*, *forrein*, *lerning*, *shon*, *cours*, *hight* (sometimes *highth*), *hautinesse*, *reck'n*.

In words ending in *ess* the spelling varies with the accent; where he made this fall on the last syllable he spelt it *esse*, as *exactnesse*, *unlesse*, *accesse*, *strictnesse*, &c., otherwise he spelt it *es*, as *softnes*, *drunknes*, *remissnes*, *aptnes*, &c. Similarly in words in *te* his spelling varies with the accent, and the position of the accent is made to depend on the emphasis; thus we have reguláte, régulat; extirpáte, extírpat. Compare 'not to reck'n up the *infinit* helps' (p. 55) with

> 'Be *infinitly* good, and of his good
> As liberal and free as *infinite*.'

The addition of an *e* to lengthen the preceding syllable is common in other words, especially at the end of a line in poetry, e.g.:—

> 'When in *orbes*
> Of circuit inexpressible they stood
> *Orb* within *orb*, the Father infinite.'

Akin to this is Milton's usage of spelling we, ye, he, &c., as wee, yee, hee, only when they are emphatic; e.g. 'All men who know how ye honour Truth will clear *yee* readily' (p. 29), and

> 'On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
> *Mee*, *mee* onely just obiect of his ire.'

Occasionally he deviates from the ordinary spelling for etymological reasons, as *skeptical* (σκεπτικός), democraty (δημοκρατία), autority (auctoritas, autorité), aery (aerius), chatized (châtier), especially in case of words derived from the Italian, as *ballats* (ballata), *ghittarr* (chitarra), *balcone*, *ammiral* (ammiraglio), *sovran* (sovrano). He was careful in the case of proper names to give the exact form in their own language; thus we have Flaccus, Titus Livius, Porphyrius, Lullius, Padre Paolo, instead of Horace, Livy, Porphyry, Lully, Father Paul. Hence, while we have *piatza* to suit the Italian pronunciation of piazza, a common noun, the proper noun Arezzo is given unaltered. In this last particular Milton was before his age; it was no piece of mere pedantry, but the recognition of a principle which is slowly but surely gaining general acceptance.

The name of this treatise, 'Areopagitica (Oratio),' was borrowed from a speech of Isocrates still extant, entitled, Ἀρεοπαγιτικὸς (λόγος). This speech was so called because its object was the restoration of the old constitution of Solon and Kleisthenes, and especially of the Court of Areopagus, with power to reform and regulate the private life of the citizens of Athens.

Milton's reasons for adopting this title are not very obvious. It was certainly a fashion in his time to give Greek names to books, of which fashion the famous 'Icon Basilike' and Milton's own treatises, 'Iconoclastes,' 'Tetrachordon,' 'Colasterion,' are sufficient examples. Milton, too, seems to have had a special admiration for Isocrates, 'that old man eloquent' (Sonnet IX.), which was probably due to his political opinions as well as his polished eloquence. But the principal reason may be gathered from

the passage (on p. 19) which speaks of 'him who wrote that discourse to the Parliament of Athens.' He is imitating Isocrates in composing and publishing a rhetorical exercise, a speech which was never delivered, and with a delicate flattery he implies that 'the Parliament of England' are the modern representatives of the most revered institution 'of the old and elegant humanity of Greece,' indirectly claiming for himself the same patient and respectful attention that was accorded to the Athenian writer. It would seem that he regarded Isocrates as addressing the Court of Areopagus in his speech, which was an error, but not peculiar to Milton, for some scholars have maintained that Isocrates delivered it in person before that Assembly. The fact that Isocrates was pleading for the abolition of sundry innovations at Athens and a return to the freedom of past ages, and that before the authors of these innovations, completes the parallel: Milton is urging Parliament to repeal an Act of their own setting forth, and to restore the old liberty of books.

The Council of Areopagus (ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή or ἡ ἄνω βουλή) was a body of very great antiquity and influence in Athens, called after the name of the place in which its meetings were held. This was a small rocky hill to the west of the Acropolis at Athens. Solon found the Court in existence at the time of his political changes, but he so altered its constitution as to be often called its founder. The members were all who had served the office of Archon, and had passed the investigation (δοκιμασία) into their official conduct. In early times it was simply a Court to try cases of murder, and the like, but Solon gave it extensive judicial, censorial, and political powers. It was a high court of justice, a censor of public morals, and a stronghold of the aristocratical party. The great popular

leader, Pericles, with his friend Ephialtes, assailed it, stripped it of its political power and influence, and left it little more than a venerable relic. It seems to have retained its judicial functions and some authority in matters of religion and morality. It was always regarded as a just and holy tribunal, and its members were the gravest and noblest of the citizens. The proceedings were very simple, and conducted in the open air; the Archon Basileus presided; the opposing parties both took a solemn oath, and were then allowed to state their cases, keeping strictly to the subject, and not employing any rhetorical device or appealing to the feelings or passions of the judges.

ANALYSIS OF THE ARGUMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

A complimentary address to the Parliament.

The highest praise of those in office is the expectation of fair hearing and ready redress.

The most civilised Governments of Antiquity always gladly received admonitions from men of letters.

A SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

I. (1) THE NATURE OF BOOKS—their power and vitality.
(2) The conduct of ancient Pagan Governments towards books and their authors.
(3) The conduct of the Christian Emperors and General Councils.
(4) The conduct of the Popes and the Inquisition.
(5) Illustrations of the existing usage, with a bitter complaint of its adoption in England.

II. A SCRIPTURAL AND HISTORICAL ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF PROMISCUOUS READING, supported by
(1) Early and authoritative examples.
(2) Modern learned opinion.
(3) The analogy of God's dealings with men.
(4) The necessity of trial for perfecting virtue.

Three Arguments to the contrary answered.
(α) The infection of evil in books may spread.
Answer. This objection goes too far—it would exclude the Bible and many good books. And bad books are not dangerous *without* a teacher; they are not necessary *to* a teacher.
(β) We must not expose ourselves to temptation.
(γ) We must not employ our time in vain things.
Answer. To some they are neither temptations nor vanities. For the rest Licensing is of no more use than exhortation.

III. LICENSING IS NECESSARILY INEFFECTIVE.

Plato's authority in its favour weakened by his want of practicality and his inconsistency.

To be effective the principle of Licensing

(1) logically involves an impossible Censorship of Manners, (Repetition of the argument that it is opposed to the analogy of God's dealings with Adam and mankind at large).

(2) It necessitates most costly and minute supervision.

(3) It requires impossible qualifications in the Licensers.

IV. LICENSING IS A GREAT DISCOURAGEMENT TO LEARNING.

(1) It is an affront and a hindrance to Authors, and the wiser the Author the greater the affront.

(2) It is an insult to the nation.

(3) It is a reflection on Christian Ministers.

Digression.

The effects of Licensing in Italy, its original home.

Its connection with Religious Intolerance, whether Presbyterian or Prelatical.

(4) It is a hindrance to the maintenance of Truth already known. The suppression of controversy leads to a careless acceptance of the Truth.

(5) It sorely hinders the search after new Truth.

V. A EULOGY OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

The hopeful features of his own times:

(1) The religious earnestness and activity.

(2) The interest in science and literature amid much discouragement.

VI AN APPEAL FOR GENERAL TOLERATION.

The great needs of his own times:

(1) Freedom of speech.

(2) Tolerance for diversities of opinion.

A return to the previous Order (of 1642) advocated.

The suspected authorship of the obnoxious regulation.

Conclusion.

AREOPAGITICA.

THEY who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parlament, or wanting such accesse, in a private condition write that which they foresee may advance the publick good; I suppose them as at the beginning of no meane endeavour not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes; some with doubt of what will be the successe, others with feare of what will be the censure; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speake. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I enter'd may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these formost expressions now also disclose which of them sway'd most, but that the very attempt of this addresse thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, farre more welcome than incidentall to a Preface. Which though I stay not to confesse ere any aske, I shall be blamelesse if it be no other, then the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their Countries Liberty; whereof this whole Discourse propos'd will be a certaine testimony, if not a trophey. For this is not the Liberty which wee can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth, *that* let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound

of civill Liberty attain'd, that wise men looke for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that wee are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a steepe disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery, it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of GOD our deliverer, next, to your faithfull guidance and undaunted wisdome, Lords and Commons of England! Neither is it in GOD'S esteeme the diminution of his glory, when honorable things are spoken of good men and worthy magistrates; which if I now first should begin to doe, after so fair a progresse of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligement upon the whole Realme to your indefatigable vertues, I might be justly reckn'd among the tardiest, and the unwillingest of them that praise ye. Nevertheless there being three principall things, without which all praising is but courtship and flattery, first, when that only is praised which is solidly worth praise; next, when greatest likelihoods are brought that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascrib'd; the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actuall perswasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavour'd, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impaire your merits with a triviall and malignant *Encomium*; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine owne acquittall, that whom I so extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reserved opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best Cov'nant of his fidelity; and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceed-

ings. His highest praise is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kinde of praising: for though I should affirme and hold by argument that it would fare better with Truth, with Learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publisht Orders which I should name were call'd in; yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your milde and equall government, whenas private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleas'd with publick advice, then other Statists have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a trienniall Parlament, and that jealous hautinesse of Prelates and cabin Counsellours that usurpt of late, whenas they shall observe yee in the midd'st of your victories and successes more gently brooking writt'n exceptions against a voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc't nothing worth memory but the weake ostentation of wealth, would have endur'd the least signifi'd dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus farre presume upon the meak demeanour of your civill and gentle greatnesse, Lords and Commons, as what your publisht Order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend myselfe with ease, if any should accuse me of being new and insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian statelines. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we ow that we are not yet Gothes and Jutlanders, I could name him who from his private house wrote that Discourse to the Parlament of Athens, that perswades them to change the forme of Democraty which was then establisht. Such honour was done in those dayes to men who profest the study of wisdome and eloquence

not only in their own Country, but in other lands, that Cities and Siniories heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had ought in publick to admonish the State. Thus did Dion Prusæus, a stranger and a privat Orator, counsell the Rhodians against a former Edict: and I abound with other like examples, which to set heer would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those naturall endowments haply not the worse for two-and-fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated, as to count me not equall to any of those who had this priviledge, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior, as your selves are superior to the most of them who receiv'd their counsell; and how farre you excell them, be assur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater testimony appear, then when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeyes the voice of reason, from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your predecessors.

If ye be thus resolv'd, as it were injury to thinke ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance, wherein to shew both that love of truth which ye eminently professe, and that uprightnesse of your judgement which is not wont to be partiall to your selves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd *to regulate Printing: That no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper shall be henceforth printed, unlesse the same be first approv'd and licenc't by such*, or at least one of such as shall be thereto appointed. For that part which preserves justly every man's copy to himselfe, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretenses to abuse and persecute honest and

painfull men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadragesimal* and *matrimoniäl* when the Prelats expir'd, I shall now attend with such a Homily, as shall lay before ye, first the inventors of it to be those whom ye will be loath to own; next, what is to be thought in generall of reading, whatever sort the Books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended to be supprest. Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all Learning and the stop of Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made both in religious and civill wisdome.

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: for Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of Life in them to be as active as that Soule was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet on the other hand unlesse warinesse be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, GOD'S Image; but he who destroyes a good Booke, kills Reason itselfe, kills the Image of GOD, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the

Earth; but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a Life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a Life, whereof perhaps there is no great losse; and revolutions of ages doe not oft recover the losse of a rejected Truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that season'd Life of Man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall Life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence, the breath of Reason itselfe, slaies an Immortality rather then a Life. But lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence while I oppose licencing, I refuse not the paines to be so much historicall, as will serve to shew what hath been done by ancient and famous Commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licencing crept out of the Inquisition, was catcht up by our Prelates, and hath caught some of our Presbyters.

In Athens, where Books and Wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the Magistrates car'd to take notice of; those either blasphemous and atheisticall, or libellous. Thus the Books of Protagoras were by the Judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt and himselfe banish't the territory for a Discourse begun with his confessing not to know *whether there were Gods, or whether not?* And against defaming, it was decreed that none should be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comœdia*, whereby we may guesse how they censur'd Libelling: and

this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other Atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event shew'd. Of other sects and opinions though tending to voluptuousnesse, and the denying of divine Providence they tooke no heede. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynick impudence utter'd, was ever question'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old Comœdians were supprest, though the acting of them were forbid; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes the loosest of them all, to his royall scholler Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excus'd if holy Chrysostome, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same Author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the stile of a rousing Sermon. That other leading City of Greece, Lacedæmon, considering that Lycurgus their Lawgiver was so addicted to elegant Learning, as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scattered workes of Homer, and sent the Poet Thales from Creet to prepare and niollifie the Spartan surlinesse with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility; it is to be wonder'd how muselesse and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of Warre. There needed no licencing of Books among them for they dislik'd all, but their own Laconick Apothegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus out of their City, perhaps for composing in a higher straine than their owne souldierly ballats and roundels could reach to: or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence Euripides affirms in *Andromache*, that their women were all unchaste. Thus much may give us light after what sort Bookes were prohibited among the

Greeks. The Romans also for many ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, resembling most the Lacedæmonian guise, knew of Learning little but what their Twelve Tables, and the Pontifick College with their Augurs and Flamins taught them in Religion and Law, so unacquainted with other Learning, that when Carneades and Critolaus, with the Stoick Diogenes comming Embassadors to Rome, tooke thereby occasion to give the City a tast of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no lesse a man than Cato the Censor, who mov'd it in the Senat to dismisse them speedily, and to banish all such Attick bablers out of Italy. But Scipio and others of the noblest Senators withstood him and his old Sabin austerity; honour'd and admir'd the men; and the Censor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that whereof before he was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time Nævius and Plautus, the first Latine Comœdians had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of Menander and Philemon. Then began to be consider'd there also what was to be don to libellous Books and Authors: for Nævius was quickly cast into prison for his unbridl'd pen, and releas'd by the Tribunes upon his recantation: we read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punisht by Augustus. The like severity no doubt was us'd if ought were impiously writt'n against their esteemed Gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in Books, the Magistrate kept no reck'ning. And therefore Lucretius without impeachment versifies his Epicurism to Memmius, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by Cicero so great a Father of the Commonwealth; although himselfe disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the satyricall sharpnesse or naked plainnes of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for

matters of State, the Story of Titus Livius, though it extoll'd that part which Pompey held, was not therefore supprest by Octavius Cæsar of the other faction. But that Naso was by him banisht in his old age, for the wanton Poems of his youth, was but a meer covert of State over some secret cause: and besides, the Books were neither banisht nor call'd in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvell, if not so often bad, as good Books were silenc't. I shall therefore deem to have bin large anough in producing what among the Ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the Emperors were become Christians, whose discipline in this point I doe not finde to have bin more severe than what was formerly in practice. The Books of those whom they took to be grand Hereticks were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the generall Councels; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by autority of the Emperor. As for the writings of heathen Authors, unlesse they were plaine invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a Carthaginian Councel, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Heresies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary scrupl'd more the Books of Hereticks, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councels and Bishops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, passing no furder, but leaving it to each one's conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observed by Padre Paolo, the great unmasker of the Trentine Councel. After which time the Popes of Rome engrossing what they

pleas'd of politicall rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes, as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fansied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the Books not many which they so dealt with: till Martin V. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of hereticall Books; for about that time Wicklef and Husse growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papall Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours Leo X. and his successors follow'd untill the Councel of Trent, and the Spanish Inquisition engendring together brought forth or perfeted those Catalogues and expurging Indexes that rake through the entralls of many an old good Author, with a violation wors then any could be offer'd to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters hereticall, but any subject that was not to their palat, they either condemn'd in a prohibition, or had it strait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper should be printed (as if S. Peter had bequeath'd them the keys of the Presse also, out of Paradise), unlesse it were approv'd and licenc't under the hands of two or three glutton Friers. For example:

Let the Chancellor Cini be pleas'd to see if in this present work be contain'd ought that may withstand the Printing,

VINCENT RABATTA, Vicar of Florence.

I have seen this present work, and finde nothing athwart the Catholic Faith and good manners: In witnesse whereof I have given, &c.

NICOLÒ CINI, Chancellor of Florence.

Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this present work of Davanzati, may be Printed,

VINCENT RABATTA, &c.

It may be printed, July 15.

Friar SIMON MOMPEI D'AMELIA, Chancellor of the Holy Office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit, if He of the bottomlesse pit had not long since broke prison that this quadruple exorcism would barre him down. I feare their next designe will be to get into their custody the Licencing of that which they say Claudius [1] intended, but went not through with. Vouts safe to see another of their forms, the Roman stamp:

Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend master of the Holy Palace,

BELCASTRO, Vicegerent.

Imprimatur,

Friar NICOLÒ RODOLPHI, Master of the Holy Palace.

Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the Piatza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with shav'n reverences, whether the Author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epistle, shall to the Presse or to the spunge. These are the prety Responsories, these are the deare Antiphonies that so bewitcht of late our Prelats and their Chaplaines with the goodly Eccho they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from Lambeth House, another from the west end of Pauls; so apishly Romanizing, that the word of command still was set downe in Latine; as if the learned Grammaticall pen that wrote

[1] Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi. Suetonius in Claudio.

it, would cast no ink without Latine: or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to expresse the pure conceit of an Imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous, and formost in the atchievements of Liberty, will not easily finde servile letters anow to spell such a dictatorie presumption Englisht. And thus ye have the Inventors and the originall of Book-licencing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or Politie, or Church, nor by any Statute left us by our Ancestors elder or later; nor from the moderne custom of any reformed Citty or Church abroad; but from the most mighty Antichristian Councel and the most tyrannous Inquisition that ever inquir'd. Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifl'd then the issue of the womb: no envious Juno sate cros-leg'd over the nativity of any mans intellectuall offspring: but if it prov'd a Monster, who denies but that it was justly burnt or sunk into the Sea. But that a Book in wors condition then a peccant soul, should be to stand before a Jury ere it be born to the World, and undergo yet in darknesse the judgement of Radamanth and his Collegues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity provokt and troubl'd at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new Limbo's and new Hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsell so officiously snatcht up, and so ilfavourdly imitated by our inquisiturient Bishops, and the attendant Minorites their Chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain Authors of this licencing Order, and that all

sinister intention was farre distant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear yee readily.

But some will say, What though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may be so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easie for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest Commonwealths through all ages have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers, and oppressors of men were the first who tooke it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation; I am of those who beleeve it will be a harder alchymy then Lullius ever knew, to sublimat any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves for the tree that bore it, untill I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be thought in generall of reading Books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit, or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel, and Paul, who were skilfull in all the Learning of the Ægyptians, Caldæans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their Books of all sorts; in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a Tragedian; the question was, notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirm'd it both lawfull and profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd when Julian the Apostat, and suttlest enemy to our faith, made a decree

forbidding Christians the study of heathen Learning: for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our owne arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinarii were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculating of a new Christian Grammar. But saith the Historian Socrates, the providence of GOD provided better than the industry of Apollinarius and his Son, by taking away that illiterat law with the life of him who devis'd it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenick Learning, and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church, then the open cruelty of Decius or Dioclesian. And perhaps it was the same politick drift that the Divell whipt St. Jerom in a lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or else it was a fantasm bred by the feaver which had then seis'd him. For had an Angel bin his discipliner, unlesse it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chatiz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly partiall; first to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurrill Plautus whom he confesses to have bin reading not long before; next, to correct him only, and let so many more antient Fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tutoring apparition; insomuch that Basil teaches how some good use may be made of Margites a sportfull Poem, not now extant, writ by Homer; and why not then of Morgante, an Italian Romanze much to the same purpose? But if it be agreed we shall be try'd by visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius far ancienter then this tale of Jerom

to the Nun Eustochium, and besides has nothing of a feavor in it. Dionysius Alexandrinus was about the year 240, a person of great name in the Church for Piety and Learning, who had wont to avail himself much against Hereticks by being conversant in their Books; untill a certain Presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himselfe among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new debate with himselfe, what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from GOD, it is his own Epistle that so avers it, confirm'd him in these words: Read any Books, whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright and to examine each matter. To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thessalonians; Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same Author; To the pure all things are pure, not only meats and drinks, but all kinde of knowledge whether of good or evill; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the Books, if the will and conscience be not defil'd. For Books are as meats and viands are; some of good, some of evill substance; and yet GOD in that unapocryphall vision, said without exception: Rise, Peter, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each man's discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomack differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best Books to a naughty mind are not unappliable to occasions of Evill. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad Books, that they to a discreet and judicious Reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Whereof what better witnes can ye expect

I should produce, then one of your own now sitting in Parlament, the chief of learned Men reputed in this land, Mr. Selden, whose volume of naturall and national Laws proves, not only by great autorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known read and collated are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive therefore, that when GOD did enlarge the universall diet of man's body, saving ever the rules of Temperance, he then also as before left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds, as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his owne leading capacity. How great a vertue is Temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man? yet GOD commits the managing so great a trust, without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabl'd the Jews from Heaven, that Omer which was every man's daily portion of Manna, is computed to have bin more then might have well suffic'd the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather then issue out of him, and therefore defile not, GOD uses not to captivate under a perpetuall childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of Reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which heretofore were govern'd only by exhortation. Salomon informs us, that much reading is a wearines to the flesh; but neither he, nor other inspir'd Author tells us that such or such reading is unlawfull; yet certainly had GOD thought good to limit us herein, it had bin much more expedient to have told us what was unlawfull, then what was

wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephesian Books by St. Pauls converts, 'tis reply'd the Books were magick, the Syriack so renders them. It was a privat act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those bocks which were their own; the Magistrat by this example is not appointed: these men practiz'd the Books, another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and Evill we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of Good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of Evill and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those confused seeds which were impos'd on Psyche as an incessant labour to cull out and sort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of Good and Evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing Good and Evill, that is to say of knowing Good by Evill. As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdome can there be to choose, what continence to forbeare, without the knowledge of Evill? He that can apprehend and consider Vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring [1] Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered Vertue, unexercised and unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that

1. wayfaring.

which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary. That Vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that Vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank Vertue, not a pure; her whitenesse is but an excrementall whitenesse; which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then Scotus or Aquinas, describing true Temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his Palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the Bowr of earthly Blisse, that he might see and know and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survay of Vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human Vertue, and the scanning of Error to the confirmation of Truth, how can we more safely, and with lesse danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity then by reading all manner of tractats and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of Books promiscuously read. But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckn'd. First, is fear'd the infection that may spread; but then all human Learning and controversie in religious points must remove out of the world, yea the Bible itselfe, for that oftimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnall sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of Epicurus: in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: and ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginall Keri, that Moses and all the Prophets cannot perswade him to pronounce the textuall Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible itselfe put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited Books. The ancientest Fathers must next be remov'd, as

Clement of Alexandria, and that Eusebian book of Evangelick preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerom, and others discover more Heresies than they well confute, and that often for Heresie which is the truer opinion. Nor boots it to say for these and all the heathen Writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human Learning, that they are writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to instill the poison they suck, first into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choisest delights and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that Petronius whom Nero call'd his Arbiter, the Master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for posterities sake, whom Harry the 8. named in merriment his Vicar of Hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreine Books can infuse, will finde a passage to the People farre easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sail'd either by the North of Cataio Eastward, or of Canada Westward, while our Spanish Licencing gags the English Presse never so severely. But on the other side that infection which is from books of controversie in Religion, is more doubtfull and dangerous to the learned, then to the ignorant; and yet those Books must be permitted untouch't by the Licencer. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath bin ever seduc't by a papisticall Book in English, unlesse it were commended and expounded to him by some of that Clergy: and indeed all such tractats whether false or true are as the Prophesie of Isaiah was to the Eunuch, not to be understood without

a guide. But of our Priests and Doctors how many have bin corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the People, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct Arminius was perverted meerly by the perusing of a namelesse Discourse writt'n at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute. Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance, which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppresst without the fall of Learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these Books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people whatever is hereticall or dissolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evill manners are as perfectly learnt without Books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopt, and evill doctrine not with Books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing, and so beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold how this cautelous enterprise of Licencing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly dispos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Parkgate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of Books, and dispredders both of Vice and Error, how shall the Licencers themselves be confided in, unlesse we can conferr upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptednesse? And again, if it be true that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best Book, yea or without a Book, there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage

to his wisdome, while we seek to restrain from a fool, that which being restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactnesse always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgement of Aristotle not only, but of Salomon, and of our Saviour, not voutsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good Books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet then a fool will do of sacred Scripture. 'Tis next alleg'd, we must not expose ourselves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not imploy our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such Books are not temptations nor vanities; but usefull drugs and materialls wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong med'cins, which mans life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare these working mineralls, may well be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the Licencing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this Order of Licencing conduces nothing to the end for which it was fram'd; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens her self faster than the pace of method and discours can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, to shew that no Nation, or well instituted State, if they valu'd Books at all, did ever use this way of Licencing; and it might be answer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately discover'd. To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had bin difficult to finde out, there

wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgement, that it was not the not knowing but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. Plato, a man of high autority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the Book of his Laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancie with making many edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him, wish had bin rather buried and excus'd in the genial cups of an Academick night-sitting. By which Laws he seems to tolerat no kind of Learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practicall traditions, to the attainment whereof a Library of smaller bulk then his own Dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man what he had writt'n, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and allow'd it; but that Plato meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other is evident. Why was he not else a Lawgiver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expell'd by his own Magistrats; both for the wanton Epigrams and Dialogues which he made, and his perpetuall reading of Sophron Mimus, and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy, and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious Libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant Dionysius, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this Licencing of Poems had reference and dependance to many other proviso's there set down in his fancied Republic, which in this world could have no place: and so neither he himself, nor any Magistrat or City ever imitated that cours, which tak'n apart from those other collaterall injunctions must needs be vain and fruitlesse. For if they fell upon one

kind of strictnesse, unlesse their care were equall to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to shut and fortifie one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners, we must regulat all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightfull to Man. No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and Dorick. There must be licencing dancers, that no gesture motion or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such Plato was provided of: It will ask more then the work of twenty Licencers to examin all the Lutes, the Violins, and the Ghittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also and the Balcone's must be thought on; *there* are shrewd Books with dangerous Frontispices set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty Licencers? The Villages also must have their Visitors to enquire what Lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry and the gammuth of every municipal fidler, for these are the countrymans Arcadia's and his Monte Mayors. Next, what more nationall corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, then household gluttony; who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunk'nes is sold and harbour'd? Our garments also should be referr'd to the Licencing of some more sober workmasters, to see them cut into a lesse wanton garb. Who shall regulat all the mixt conversation of our youth, male and female together,

as is the fashion of this country? Who shall still appoint what shall be discours'd, what presum'd, and no furder? Lastly, who shall forbid and separate all idle resort, all evill company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be lest hurtfull, how lest enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a State. To sequester out of the world into Atlantick and Eutopian Polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of Evill in the midd'st whereof GOD hath plac't us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's Licencing of Books will doe this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of Licencing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrat; but those unwritt'n, or at least unconstraining laws of vertuous Education, religious and civill nurture, which Plato there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every writt'n Statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all Licencing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissenes for certain are the bane of a Commonwealth; but here the great art lyes, to discern in what the Law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things perswasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evill in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance and prescription and compulsion, what were Vertue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what grammercy to be sober, just, or continent? many there be that complain of divin Providence for suffering Adam to transgresse; foolish tongues! when GOD gave him Reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for Reason is but choosing; he had bin else a meer artificiall Adam, such an Adam as he is in the Motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience or love or gift

which is of force: GOD therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did He creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of Vertu? They are not skilfull considerers of human things who imagin to remove Sin by removing the matter of Sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot be from all, in such a universall thing as Books are; and when this is done, yet the Sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousnesse. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so: such great care and wisdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expell Sin by this means; look how much we thus expell of Sin, so much we expell of Vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high Providence of GOD, who though he command us Temperance, Justice, Continence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profusenes all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of GOD and of Nature, by abridging or scanting those means which Books freely permitted are, both to the triall of Vertue, and the exercise of Truth? It would be better done to learn that the law must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things uncertainly and yet equally working to Good and to Evill.

And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evill-doing. For GOD sure esteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous person more then the restraint of ten vitious. And albeit whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing, may be fitly call'd our Book, and is of the same effect that writings are; yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only Books, it appears that this Order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftner, but weekly, that continued Court-libell against the Parlament and City, printed as the wet sheets can witnes, and dispers't among us, for all that Licencing can doe? yet this is the prime service a man would think, wherein this Order should give proof of itselfe. If it were executed, you'l say. But certain, if execution be remisse or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other Books? If then the Order shall not be vain and frustrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicenc't Books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a list that all may know which are condemn'd and which not; and ordain that no forrein Books be deliver'd out of custody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also Books which are partly usefull and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials to make expurgations, and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of Learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when the multitude of Books encrease upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those Printers who are found frequently offending; and forbidd the importation of their whole suspected typography.

In a word, that this your Order may be exact and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of Trent and Sevil, which I know ye abhorre to doe. Yet though ye should condiscend to this, which GOD forbid, the Order still would be but fruitlesse and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechis'd in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing Books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixt for many ages only by unwritt'n traditions? The Christian faith (for that was once a schism) is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aym'd at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitionall rigor that hath bin executed upon Books.

Ancther reason, whereby to make it plain that this Order will misse the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every Licencer. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth or death of Books, whether they may be wafted into this world or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not, which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoovs him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journey-work, a greater losse of time levied upon his head, then to be made the perpetuall reader of unchosen Books and Pamphlets, oftimes huge volumes. There is no Book that is acceptable unlesse at certain seasons; but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scars legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest Print, is an

imposition which I cannot beleeve how he that values time and his own studies or is but of a sensible nostrill should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present Licencers to be pardon'd for so thinking: who doubtlesse took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the Parlament, whese command perhaps made all things seem easie and unlaborious to them; but that this short triall hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to sollicit their Licence, are testimony anough. Seeing therefore those who now possesse the imployment, by all evident signs wish themselves well ridd of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Presse-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of Licencers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remisse, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to shew wherein this Order cannot conduce to that end whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no-good it can do to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offer'd to Learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats upon every least breath of a motion to remove Pluralities and distribute more equally Church revennu's, that then all Learning would be for ever dasht and discourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of Learning stood or fell with the Clergy; nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any Churchman who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false

pretenders to Learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study and love Lerning for itselfe, not for lucre or any other end, but the service of God and of Truth and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose publisht labours advance the good of Mankind: then know, that so far to distrust the judgement and the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in Learning and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner lest he should drop a schism or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular to come under the fescu of an Imprimatur? if serious and elaborat writings as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar lad under his Pedagogue, must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing Licencer. He who is not to be trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evill, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditats, is industrious and likely consults and conferrs with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummat act of his fidelity and ripenesse, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity as not to be mistrusted and suspected unlesse he

carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings and expence of Palladian oyl to the hasty view of an unleasured Licencer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulst or slighted, must appear in print like a Punie with his Guardian, and his censors hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and surety that he is no idiot or seducer; it cannot be but a dishonor and derogation to the Author, to the Book, to the priviledge and dignity of Learning. And what if the Author shall be one so copious of fancie as to have many things well worth the adding come into his mind after Licencing while the Book is yet under the Presse, which not seldom happ'ns to the best and diligentest writers, and that perhaps a dozen times in one Book. The Printer dares not go beyond his licenc't copy; so often then must the Author trudge to his leav-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewd, and many a jaunt will be made, ere that Licencer, for it must be the same man, can either be found or found at leisure; meanwhile either the Presse must stand still, which is no small damage, or the Author loose his accuratest thoughts and send the Book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with autority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a Doctor in his Book, as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal Licencer, to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgement? When every acute Reader upon the first sight of a pedantick Idioma will be ready with these like words to ding the

Book a coits distance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the Licencer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgement? The State, Sir, replies the Stationer, but has a quick return, The State shall be my Governours but not my Criticks; they may be mistak'n in the choice of a Licencer as easily as this Licencer may be mistak'n in an Author: this is some common stuffe; and he might adde from Sir Francis Bacon, That such authoriz'd Books are but the language of the times. For though a Licencer should happ'n to be judicious more than ord'nary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office and his commission enjoyns him to let passe nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased Author, though never so famous in his lifetime and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his Book one sentence of a ventrous edge, utter'd in the height of zeal (and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit?) yet not suiting with every low decrepit humor of their own, though it were Knox himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost for the fearfulnesse or the presumptuous rashnesse of a perfunctory Licencer. And to what an Author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what Book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as these

shall have autority to knaw out the choicest periods or exquisitest Books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that haples race of men whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn or care to be more then worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothfull, to be a common steadfast dunce, will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive and most injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgement which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever, much less that it should not passe except their superintendence be over it, unlesse it be sifted and strain'd with their strainers, that it should be uncurrant without their manuall stamp. Truth and Understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by Tickets and Statutes and Standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloath and our wooll packs. What is it but a servitude like that impos'd by the Philistins not to be allow'd the sharpning of our owne axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licencing forges? Had any one writt'n and divulg'd erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudg'd him, that he should never henceforth write but what were first examin'd by an appointed officer, whose hand should be

annext to passe his credit for him, that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended lesse then a disgracefull punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation and those that never yet thus offended under such a diffident and suspectfull prohibition may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more whenas dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive Books must not shine forth without a visible jaylor in their title. Nor is it to the common people less then a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them as that we dare not trust them with an English Pamphlet, what doe we but censure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded People, in such a sick and weake estate of Faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a Licencer. That this is care or love of them we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places where the Laity are most hated and dispis'd the same strictnes is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither; whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other dores which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion, it reflects to the disrepute of our Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better and of the proficiencie which their flock reaps by them, then after all this light of the Gospel which is and is to be, and all this continuall preaching they should be still frequented with such an unprincipl'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble as that the whiffe of every new Pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations and the benefiting of their hearers as that they are not thought fit to be

turn'd loose to three sheets of paper without a Licencer, that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in such numbers and such volumes as have now well-nigh made all other Books unsalable, should not be armour anough against one single enchiridion without the Castle St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.

And lest some should perswade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of lerned mens discouragement at this your Order are meer flourishes and not reall, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other Countries where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have sat among their lerned men, for that honor I had, and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of Philosophic freedom as they suppos'd England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servil condition into which Lerning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had dampt the glory of Italian wits, that nothing had bin there writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian. There 'it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a pris'ner to the Inquisition for thinking in Astronomy otherwise then the Franciscan and Dominican Licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the Prelaticall yoak, neverthelesse I took it as a pledge of future happines, that other Nations were so perswaded of her Liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance as shall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear that what words of complaint I heard among lerned men of other parts utter'd against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as lerned men at home utter'd in time of Parlament against an Order of

Licencing; and that so generally, that when I had disclos'd myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest Quæstorship had indear'd to the Sicilians was not by them more importun'd against Verres, then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perswasions that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon Lerning. That is this not therefore the disburdening of a particular fancie, but the common grievance of all those who had prepar'd their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance Truth in others and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfie. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the generall murmur is, that if it come to inquisitioning again and Licencing, and that we are so timorous of our selves and so suspicious of all men as to fear each Book and the shaking of every leaf before we know what the contents are; if some who but of late were little better then silenc't from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading except what they please, it cannot be guest what is intended by som but a second tyranny over Learning: and will soon put it out of controversie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those evills of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty Sees were distributivly charg'd upon the whole People, will now light wholly upon Learning, is not obscure to us; whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large Dioces of Books and yet not remove but keep his other cure too, a mysticall Pluralist. He who but of late cry'd down the sole ordi-

nation of every novice Batchelor of Art and deny'd sole jurisdiction over the simplest Parishioner, shall now at home in his privat chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest Books and ablest Authors that write them. This is not, Yee Covnants and Protestations that we have made, this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Episcopacy, this is but to translate the Palace Metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another, this is but an old canonicall sleight of commuting our penance. To startle thus betimes at a meer unlicenc't Pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle and a while after will make a conventicle of every Christian meeting. But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of Justice and Fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the rock of Faith and true Knowledge cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are not yet constituted in Religion, that Freedom of Writing should be restrain'd by a discipline imitated from the Prelats and learnt by them from the Inquisition, to shut us up all again into the brest of a Licencer, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the finenes of this politic drift and who are the contrivers? that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open; it was the Peoples birthright and priviledge in time of Parlament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more but to make room for others into their seats under another name; the Episcopal arts begin to bud again, the cruse of Truth must run no more oyle, Liberty of Printing must be enthrall'd again under a Prelaticall Commission of twenty, the priviledge nullify' and which is wors, the Freedom of Learning must groan again and

to her old fetters; all this, the Parlament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelats might remember them that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at; instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation. 'The punishing of wits enhances their autority,' saith the Vicount St. Albans, 'and a forbidd'n writing is thought to be a certain spark of Truth that flies up in the faces of them who seeke to tread it out.' This Order therefore may prove a nursing-mother to Sects, but I shall easily show how it will be a step-dame to Truth; and first by disinabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our Faith and Knowledge thrives by exercise as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a Heretick in the Truth, and if he beleeve things only because his Pastor sayes so or the Assembly so determins, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true yet the very Truth he holds becomes his Heresie. There is not any burden that som would gladlier post off to another then the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be? of Protestants and Professors who live and dye in as arrant an implicit faith as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and his profits finds Religion to be a traffick so entangl'd and of so many piddling accounts that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he doe? fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours

in that. What does he therefore but resolvs to give over toyling and to find himself out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs: som Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole ware-house of his Religion with all the locks and keyes into his custody, and indeed makes the very person of that man his Religion, esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his Religion is now no more within himself, but is becom a dividuall movable and goes and comes neer him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his Religion comes home at night, praies, is liberally supt, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the Malmsey or some well spic't bruage, and better breakfasted then He whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem, his Religion walks abroad at eight and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his Religion.

Another sort there be, who, when they hear that all things shall be order'd, all things regulated and setl'd, nothing writt'n but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and the poundaging of all free spok'n Truth, will strait give themselvs up into your hands: mak'em and cut'em out what Religion ye please, there be recreations and jolly pastimes that will fetch the day about from sun to sun and rack the tedious year as in a delightfull dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have tak'n so strictly and so unalterably into their own pourveying? These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the People. How goodly

and how to be wisht were such an obedient unanimity as this? what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? doubtles a stanch and solid peece of frame-work as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence ev'n among the Clergy themselvs, it is no new thing never heard of before, for a parochiall Minister who has his reward and is at his Hercules pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a topic folio the gatherings and savings of a sober graduatship, a Harmony and a Catena, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinall heads attended with their uses, motives, marks, and means: out of which as out of an alphabet or sol-fa, by forming and transforming, joyning and disjoyning variously, a little book-craft and two hours meditation might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more then a weekly charge of sermoning: not to reck'n up the infinit helps of interlinearies, breviaries, synopses, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons ready printed and pil'd up on every text that is not difficult our London trading St. Thomas in his vestry, and adde to boot St. Martin and St. Hugh, have not within their hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made: so that penury he never need fear of Pulpit provision having where so plenteously to refresh his magasin. But if his rear and flanks be not impal'd, if his back dore be not secur'd by the rigid Licencer, but that a bold Book may now and then issue forth and give the assault to some of his old collections in their trenches it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinells about his receiv'd opinions, to walk the round and counter round with his

fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduc't, who also then would be better instructed, better exercis'd and disciplin'd. And GOD send that the fear of this diligence which must then be us'd do not make us affect the lazines of a licencing Church!

For if we be sure we are in the right and doe not hold the Truth guiltily which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the People for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for ought we know as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall, not privily from house to house which is more dangerous but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound. Christ urg'd it as wherewith to justifie himself that he preacht in publick; yet writing is more publick then preaching and more easy to refutation if need be, there being so many whose businesse and profession meerly it is to be the champions of Truth, which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth or unability?

Thus much we are hinder'd and disinur'd by this cours of Licencing toward the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the Licencers themselves in the calling of their Ministry more then any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible losse and detriment that this plot of Licencing puts us to more then if som enemy at sea should stop up

all our hav'ns and ports and creeks; it hinders and retards the importation of our richest marchandize, Truth: nay it was first establisht and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery, on set purpose to extinguish if it were possible the light of Reformation and to settle falshood, little differing from that policie wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd but gladly confest we are to send our thanks and vows to Heav'n louder then most of Nations for that great measure of Truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the Pope with his appertinences the Prelats: but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here and have attain'd the utmost prospect of Reformation that the mortal glasse wherein we contemplate can shew us till we come to beatific vision that man by this very opinion declares that he is yet farre short of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on, but when He ascended and his Apostles after him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who as that story goes of the Ægyptian Typhon with his conspirators how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewd her lovely form into a thousand peeces and scatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that Isis made for the mangl'd body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall doe till her Masters second comming: he shall bring together every joynt and member and shall mould them into an immortall feature of lovelines and perfection. Suffer not these licencing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity

forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint. We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the Sun itself it smites us into darknes. Who can discern those planets that are oft Combust and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, untill the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament where they may be seen evning or morning? The light which we have gain'd was given us not to be ever staring on but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a Priest, the unmitring of a Bishop, and the removing him from off the Presbyterian shoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other things as great in the Church and in the rule of life both economicall and politicall be not lookt into and reform'd, we have lookt so long upon the blaze that Zwinglius and Calvin hath beacon'd up to us that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meeknes nor can convince, yet all must be suppresst which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissever'd peeces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up Truth to Truth as we find it (for all her body is homogeneal and proportionall), this is the golden rule in Theology as well as in Arithmetick, and makes up the best harmony in a Church; not the forc't and outward union of cold and neutrall and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation

it is whereof ye are and whereof ye are the governours; a Nation not slow and dull but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit acute to invent subtle and sinewy to discours not below the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of Learning in her deepest Sciences have bin so ancient and so eminent among us that Writers of good antiquity and ablest judgement have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland. And that wise and civill Roman, Julius Agricola, who govern'd once here for Cæsar, preferr'd the natural wits of Britain before the labour'd studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transilvanian sends out yearly from as farre as the mountanous borders of Russia and beyond the Hercynian wildernes not their youth but their stay'd men to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heav'n we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chos'n before any other that out of her as out of Sion should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europ? And had it not bin the obstinat perversnes of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of Wicklef to suppresse him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Husse and Jerom, no, nor the name of Luther or of Calvin had bin ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had bin completely ours. But now, as our obdurat Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest Schollers of whom GOD offered to make us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs and by the generall

instinct of holy and devout men as they daily and solemnly expresse their thoughts, GOD is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church ev'n to the reforming of Reformation itself; what does he then but reveal Himself to his servants and as his manner is first to his Englishmen? I say, as his manner is first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels and are unworthy. Behold now this vast City, a City of Refuge, the mansion house of Liberty, encompast and surrounded with his protection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleagur'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and idea's wherewith to present, as with their homage and fealty, the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of Reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after Knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soile but wise and faithfull labourers to make a knowing People, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages and of Worthies. We reck'n more then five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which GOD hath stirr'd up in this City. What some lament of we rather should rejoice at should rather praise this pious forwardnes among men to reassume the ill deputed care of their Religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little

forbearance of one another, and som grain of charity might win all these diligences to joyn and unite into one generall and brotherly search after Truth, could we but forgoe this Prelaticall tradition of crowding free Consciences and Christian Liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a People and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of Truth and Freedom, but that he would cry out as Pirrhus did admiring the Roman docility and courage, If such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted, to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cry'd out against for schismaticks and sectaries, as if while the Temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrationall men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber ere the house of GOD can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world, neither can every peece of the building be of one form, nay rather, the perfection consists in this that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall, arises the goodly and the gracefull symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat builders, more wise in spirituall architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come wherein Moses the great Prophet may sit in Heav'n rejoycing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfill'd, when not only our sev'nty Elders but all the Lords People are become

Prophets. No marvell then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodnesse as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret and out of their own weaknes are in agony lest these divisions and subdivisions will undoe us. The Adversarie again applauds and waits the hour. When they have brancht themselves out, saith he, small anough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root out of which we all grow, though into branches; nor will beware untill he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unweildy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude, honest perhaps but over timorous, of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to perswade me.

First, when a City shall be as it were besieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infested, inrodes and incursions round, defiance and battell oft rumor'd to be marching ev'n to her walls and suburb trenches, that then the People or the greater part, more then at other times wholly tak'n up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reform'd, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing ev'n to a rarity and admiration things not before discourst or writt'n of, argues first a singular good will, contentednesse and confidence in your prudent foresight and safe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was who, when Rome was nigh besieg'd by Hanibal, being in the City bought that peece of ground at no cheap rate whereon Hanibal himself encampt his own regiment. Next it is a lively and

cherfull presage of our happy successe and victory. For as in a Body when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital but to rationall faculties, and those in the acutest and the pertest operations of wit and suttlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the Body is; so when the cherfulnesse of the People is so sprightly up as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversie and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated nor drooping to a fatall decay, but casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of Corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entring the glorious waies of Truth and prosperous Vertue destin'd to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks: Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heav'nly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amaz'd at what she means and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye doe then? should ye suppresse all this flowry crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this City? should ye set an Oligarchy of twenty ingrossers over it to bring a famin upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measur'd to us by their bushel? Beleeve it, Lords and Commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing doe as good as bid ye suppresse yourselves; and I will soon shew how. If it be desir'd to know the immediat cause of all this free

writing and free speaking, there cannot be assign'd a truer then your own mild and free and human government; it is the Liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchast us, Liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlighten'd our spirits like the influence of Heav'n; this is that which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees among themselves. Ye cannot make us now lesse capable, lesse knowing, lesse eagarly pursuing of the Truth, unlesse ye first make yourselves that made us so, lesse the lovers, lesse the founders of our true Liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formall, and slavish as ye found us, but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your owne Vertu propagated in us; ye cannot suppresse that, unlesse ye reinforce an abrogated and mercilesse law, that Fathers may dispatch at will their own Children. And who shall then stick closest to ye and excite others? not he who takes up armes for Cote and Conduct and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better if that were all. Give me the Liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to Conscience, above all Liberties.

What would be best advis'd then, if it be found so hurtfull or so unequall to suppresse opinions for the newnes or the unsutablenes to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not sacrific'd his life and

fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now mist and bewayl'd a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him, I am sure, yet I for honour's sake, and may it be eternall to him, shall name him, the Lord Brook. He writing of Episcopacy and by the way treating of sects and schisms left ye his vote or rather now the last words of his dying charge which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with ye so full of meeknes and breathing charity that next to His last testament who bequeath'd love and peace to his Disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscall'd, that desire to live purely in such a use of GOD'S ordinances as the best guidance of their Conscience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The Book itself will tell us more at large, being publisht to the world and dedicated to the Parlament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusall.

And now the time in speciall is, by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the furder discussion of matters in agitation. The Temple of Janus with his two controversal faces might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the windes of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by Licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva,

fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy and oppose if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, to seek for Wisdom as for hidd'n treasures early and late, that another Order shall enjoyn us to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath bin labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnish't out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battell raung'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of Licencing, where the challenger should passe, though it be valour anough in souldiership, is but weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty? she needs no policies nor stratagems nor licencings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that Error uses against her power; give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps for then she speaks not true as the old Proteus did who spake Oracles only when he was caught and bound but then rather she turns herself into all shapes except her own and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time as Micaiah did before Ahab, untill she be adjur'd into her own likenes. Yet it is not impossible that she may have more shapes then one. What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side or on the other without being unlike herself? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of 'those ordinances, that hand writing nayl'd to the crosse'? what great pur-

chase is this Christian Liberty, which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace and left to Conscience had we but charity and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisie to be ever judging one another? I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks: the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentalls; and through our forwardnes to suppresse and our backwardnes to recover any enthrall'd peece of Truth out of the gripe of Custom, we care not to keep Truth separated from Truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We doe not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid externall formality, we may as soon fall again into a grosse conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of 'wood and hay and stubble,' forc't and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church then many subdichotomies of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected 'gold and silver and pretious stones;' it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other fry, that must be the Angels Ministery at the end of mortall things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtles is more wholsome more prudent and more Christian that many be tolerated rather then all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery and open superstition, which as it extirpats all religious and civill supremacies, so itself should be extirpat provided first that all charitable and compassionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak

and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely, either against Faith or Maners, no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw itself, but those neighboring differences or rather indifferences are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt 'the unity of Spirit,' if we could but find among us 'the bond of peace.' In the mean while, if any one would write and bring his helpfull hand to the slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spok'n to him before others or but seem'd at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking licence to doe so worthy a deed, and not consider this; that if it come to prohibiting there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then Truth itself, whose first appearance to our eyes blear'd and dimm'd with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplausible then many errors, ev'n as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what doe they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others, and is the chief cause why sects and schisms doe so much abound and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when GOD shakes a kingdome with strong and healthfull commotions to a generall reforming, 'tis not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing; but yet more true it is that GOD then raises to his owne work men of rare abilities and more then common industry not only to look back and revise what hath bin taught heretofore but to gain furder and goe on some new enlighten'd steps in the discovery of Truth. For such is the order of GOD'S enlightening his Church to

dispense and deal out by degrees his beam so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is GOD appointed and confin'd where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and Assemblies and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the old Convocation House and another while in the Chappell at Westminster; when all the Faith and Religion that shall be there canoniz'd is not sufficient, without plain convincement and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of Conscience, to edifie the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made: no, though Harry the 7 himself there, with all his leige tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismaticks, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we doe not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberall and frequent audience; if not for their sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted Learning, but will confess the many waies of profiting by those who not contented with stale receits are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom GOD hath fitted for the speciall use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests nor among the Pharisees, and we in the hast

of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them; no lesse then woe to us, while thinking thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors.

There have bin not a few since the beginning of this Parlament, both of the Presbytery and others, who by their unlicenc't Books to the contempt of an Imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts and taught the People to see day: I hope that none of those were the perswaders to renew upon us this bondage, which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moses gave to young Joshua, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young John who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicenc't, be not anough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to GOD their testy mood of prohibiting is; if neither their own remembrance what evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of Licencing and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not anough but that they will perswade and execute the most Dominican part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing; it would be no unequall distribution in the first place to suppresse the suppressors themselves, whom the change of their condition hath puft up more then their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the Presse, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better then your selves have done in that Order publisht next before this, that no Book be printed unlesse the Printers and the Authors name, or at least the Printers, be register'd. Those which

otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectuall remedy that mans prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licencing Books, if I have said ought, will prove the most unlicenc't Book itself within a short while, and was the immediat image of a Star-chamber Decree to that purpose made in those very times when that Court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fall'n from the Starres with Lucifer. Whereby ye may guesse what kind of State Prudence, what love of the People, what care of Religion or good Manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisie it pretended to bind Books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent Order so well constituted before, if we may beleeve those men whose profession gives them cause to inquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old Patentees and Monopolizers in the trade of bookselling; who under pretence of the Poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his severall copy (which GOD forbid should be gainsaid), brought divers glosing colours to the House, which were indeed but colours and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours, men who doe not therefore labour in an honest profession to which Learning is indetted, that they should be made others mens vassalls. Another end is thought was aym'd at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in their hands, malignant Books might the easier scape abroad as the event shows. But of these Sophisms and Elenchs of marchandize I skill not: This I know that errors in a good Government and in a bad are equally almost incident; for what Magistrate may not be mis informed, and much the

sooner if Liberty of Printing be reduc't into the power of a few? but to redresse willingly and speedily what hath bin err'd, and in highest autority to esteem a plain advertisement more then others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a vertue (honoured Lords and Commons) answerable to Your highest actions, and whereof none can participat but greatest and wisest men.

NOTES.

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States.] Persons of rank and power, rulers; cf.

'God in the great assembly stands
Of Kings and lordly States.'—Milton, *Psalm* lxxxii.

The longer form 'estates' is used in the same way, e.g. 'Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains and chief estates of Galilee' (Mark vi. 21).

Confidence of what they have.] Of is often used for 'about,' 'concerning;' cf. 'You make me study of that' (Shakspeare, *Tempest*).

Passion.] Impetuosity, ardour. The word was used to express any mental emotion (*πάθος*); e.g. 'The passion of pity' (Milton); 'The passionate Shepherd to his Love' (Marlowe).

Trophey.] A memorial or monument, but not necessarily a monument of victory. Cf. 'This is the trophey of their antiquity' (Milton *On Reformation*); and 'If Memory o'er their tomb no trophies raise' (Gray, *Elegy*).

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Beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery.] Comparing the tyranny of the Tudors and Stuarts with that of the Roman Emperors, he points out that what was beyond the reach of the cowed and servile Roman senate had been acquired by th e boldness of English Parliament.

Unwillingest.] The comparison of adjectives by 'more' and 'most' was probably due to Norman-French, and first appeared in English at the end of the 13th century. It arose probably from the awkwardness of the genuine English suffix with adjectives in -ous:

as these all have two and most three syllables, the rule was gradually shifted from the termination to the number of syllables. Thoroughly English authors have always kept to the inflexion as far as possible: e.g. 'repiningest' (Sidney); 'honorablest' (Bacon); 'violentest' (Shakspeare); 'beautifulest' (Carlyle). We find even 'avarousere,' 'merveillousest' in Piers Ploughman.

A triviall and malignant Encomium.] Malignant was used by the Puritans as a term of opprobrium for the Royalist party, and it is used in this special sense here. The reference is to a work by Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, in which, while replying to Milton's treatise 'Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England,' he spoke of the recent proceedings of Parliament in terms of faint or doubtful praise. This led to his famous controversy with the Puritan divines who adopted the name of 'Smectymnuus' from the initials of their names (Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, William Spurstow). Milton joined in the fray and wrote 'An Apology for Smectymnuus.'

His loyalest affection and his hope waits.] This use of two singular nouns with a verbal inflection in 's' is very common. In Milton it may well be regarded as a Latinism, the singular verb agreeing with the nearer subject; but it may be only a relic of the Early English North country inflexion of the plural in -es, and its frequent occurrence in Shakspeare favours the latter explanation. Cf. 'Women's fear and love holds quantity' (*Hamlet*).

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Whenas.] So and as are affixed to words that were originally interrogative to give them a relative meaning, as, whereas, whoso. When these became recognised as relatives the tendency of the affix was to make the relative more general and indefinite, thus whoso is nearly equivalent to whosoever (Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*).

A trienniall Parlament.] A Parliament that met at least once in three years, not, as we use the term, a Parliament elected every three years. An Act in the reign of Edward III. provided for annual meetings (or more frequent, if necessary), but this had fallen into disuse. The Triennial Bill was carried in 1641 on the proposal of Lord Digby.

Cabin Counsellours.] *Cabinet* or *Privy* Councillors. The reference is to Laud, Strafford and other advisers by whose means Charles I.

ruled without a Parliament from 1629–1640. The recognised institution of a 'Cabinet' dates from the last years of William III.

Then.] *Then* and *than* are different forms of the same word, the accusative singular of the O.E. demonstrative 'the.' They are used interchangeably in early writers, meaning in that way, at that time. Cf. 'To break upon the galled shore and *than* Retire again' (Shakspeare, *Rape of Lucrece*). Thus 'He is taller *than* (*then*) I' means '*In the way in which* I am tall, he is taller' (Abbott).

Other Courts.] The Star Chamber was remarkable for the pomp and ceremony with which it was attended and its severe repression of all adverse criticism.

Civil and gentle.] Civil (Lat. *civilis* = Grk. πολιτικός) means 'belonging to the government of a state,' 'political;' gentle = high-born, noble.

Humanity.] Lat. *humanitas*, politeness, polish, civilisation. Cf. 'Belial in act more graceful and *humane*' (*Paradise Lost*, ii. 109).

Barbarick.] In its Greek use for 'non-Greek' and so uncivilised.

Hunnish.] The Huns were a Turkish or Tartar race of barbarians who overran Europe under their king Attila, 430–450 A.D.

Polite.] A Latinism (*politus*) for polished, cultivated.

Not yet.] Not still, no longer.

Gothes and Jutlanders.] The *Goths* were a tribe originally settled on the south shore of the Baltic, and closely connected with the ancestors of the English. The *Jutlanders* (or Jutes) from Schleswig or South Jutland are said by Bede to have been the earliest of the German tribes to settle here, in Kent, 449 A.D.

Discourse to the Parlament of Athens.] See Introduction. This speech by Isocrates was supposed to be delivered in the public assembly (ἐκκλησία) at Athens at the close of the Social War (357–355 B.C.). Its main object was the removal of the abuses introduced by the Thirty Tyrants, and a return to the pure democracy of Pericles.

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Siniories.] (It. *signoria*, from Lat. *senior* used for *dominus*.) Generally used by old English writers as the title of Italian Republics, and thence for States generally. Cf.

'The manage of my *State*: as at that time
Through all the *Signiories* it was the first.'—*Tempest*,

'The Republic or Signiory of Venice' (Howell).

Dion Prusæus.] Dion, surnamed Chysostome, was a rhetorician of Prusa and Bithynia, who lived in the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, and died in 117 A.D.

A privat Orator.] One who wrote speeches for others or as rhetorical exercises, but did not deliver them in person. Such were Isocrates, Lysias, Dion and others.

Provides for the poor.] The Order of 1643 confirmed the privileges of the Company of Stationers 'for their relief and maintenance of their poor.'

PAGE 21.

Painfull men.] Laborious, painstaking. Cf. 'The painful writer of two hundred books' (quoted by Trench).

'The fruits
Of painful superstition and blind zeal.'—*P. L.* iii. 451.

Quadragesimal.] (Lat. *quadragesimus*, from the forty days of Lent). These Lenten licences were permissions granted for eating meat in Lent and on days appointed by Act of Parliament as fish days.

Matrimonial licences were not issued in the time of the Commonwealth. Marriage was regarded as a civil contract and celebrated by the magistrates.

The Prelats expired.] The Bishops were excluded from Parliament and all secular jurisdiction and office in 1641, but the Order was not abolished till 1646. Milton is always careful to distinguish between the station of a *Prelate* and the office of a *Bishop*.

Those fabulous Dragons teeth.] The reference is to the story that Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, having slain a dragon, sowed its teeth, and armed men sprung up from the furrows, who slew one another.

PAGE 22.

Fift essence.] The fifth or Quint-essence was supposed to be the highest and least material of the elements of which the universe was made. Cf.

'The cumbrous elements Earth, Flood, Air, Fire,
And this ethereal Quintessence of Heaven.'—*P.L.* iii. 715.

Condemned of introducing.] Of is used in this way after verbs of French origin which naturally take *de* in this sense. Cf. 'To appeal each other of high treason' (Shakspeare).

Protagoras.] The earliest of the Athenian sophists. Flourished about 444 B.C. Milton's reference to him here is translated from Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* i. 23: 'Abderites Protagoras, sophistes temporibus illis vel maximus, quum in principio libri sui sic posuisset, De Diis neque ut sint, *neque ut non sint*, habeo dicere, Atheniensium jussu *urbe atque agro est exterminatus librique ejus in concione combusti.* Ex quo equidem existimo *tardiores* ad hanc sententiam profitendam *multos esse factos.*'

Vetus Comœdia.] 'Successit vetus his comœdia' (Horace, *Ep. ad Pisones*). Greek Comedy is historically divided into the Old, Middle, and New Comedy, or Comedy of Caricature, of Criticism, and of Character. In the old Comedy great licence was allowed in personal abuse. Cratinus Eupolis and Aristophanes were its chief writers. The law Milton refers to (*τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινά*) was probably passed about 404 B.C., but it only forbade the introduction of a person by name as one of the *dramatis personæ*, and hence did little to check 'libelling.'

PAGE 23.

Epicurus.] The founder of a Greek school of philosophy who has been falsely charged with sensual and libertine doctrines. Born at Samos, B.C. 342, died at Athens, 270 B.C.

School of Cyrene.] A licentious school of philosophy founded by Aristippus of Cyrene, in N. Africa, a pupil of Socrates (B.C. 399). Milton often refers to his sensual philosophy, e.g. 'Aristippus with his Cyrenaic rout.'

The Cynick impudence.] *τὴν Κυνικὴν ἀναισχυντίαν*, Diogenes Laertius. The best known of the Cynics is Diogenes of Sinope (412–323 B.C.), who lived at Athens and Corinth, and was distinguished by his ascetic habits and bitter speech. Cf. 'Fetch their precepts from the Cynic tub' (*Comus*).

Plato.] The philosopher of Athens (430–347 B.C.) who recommended the writings of Aristophanes to Dionysius as models of Attic style, and sent him a copy of the *Clouds* to show him what the Athenian republic was.

Dionysius.] The Tyrant of Syracuse (431–367), who was very ambitious of literary fame, and consulted Plato in such matters.

Holy (*i.e. Saint*) *Chrysostome.*] John, Bishop of Constantinople, born at Antioch, 347 A.D., and died in exile, 407 A.D. He was the most eloquent of the early Christian Fathers, and a man of wide

culture; but this story is very doubtful. The title 'Holy' is here given to distinguish him from Dion Chrysostom.

Thales.] Or Thaletas of Crete, one of the earliest Greek lyric poets and musicians, the founder of a school of music in Sparta. He must not be confounded with Thales the philosopher of Miletus. His date is very doubtful. Milton's authority for these statements about Lycurgus is Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus.*

Apothegms.] (*ἀποφθέγματα.*) Short, terse, pithy sayings, characteristic of the favourite mode of speaking at Sparta. Hence our use of the word laconic.

Archilochus.] (714–676 B.C.) An ancient lyric poet of Paros. He was expelled from Sparta either for saying in a poem that a man had better throw away his arms than his life (Plutarch), or because of the licentiousness of his poetry (Valerius Maximus).

Roundels.] A Rondeau, Rondel or Rondelay, was a kind of Sonnet that was rounded off at the end with the same words as it began with.

Broad verses.] Coarse, licentious verses. The word 'gross,' still used in this sense, is exactly parallel.

Euripides in Andromache.] The passage referred to is—

οὐδ' ἂν εἰ βούλοιτό τις
Σώφρων γένοιτο Σπαρτιατίδων κόρη.—Androm. v. 595.

Euripides is here speaking of the Spartan custom which allowed women to join in the gymnastic exercises of the men.

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Pontifick College, &c.] The great religious Collegium (or Corporation) at Rome was that of the *Pontifices*, who regulated all sacred rites and offices. That of the *Augurs* had to observe supernatural omens. The *Flamines* were the priests set apart for the service of particular deities.

Carneades.] In B.C. 155 the Athenians, who had been heavily fined by the Romans for destroying Oropus, sent an embassy to ask for the remission of the fine. These envoys were three distinguished philosophers of the day, Carneades the Academic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Diogenes the Stoic. The first of these delivered two orations in Rome, one in praise of Justice as a virtue, and the other in reply proving that it was no virtue but merely a useful

compact. This preference of rhetoric before truthfulness scandalised Cato.

Scipio.] Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor (185–129 B.C.), the adopted son of the great Scipio and the final conqueror of Carthage.

Sabin austerity.] The simplicity and severity of Sabine manners were proverbial at Rome. Cf. 'Disciplina tetrica ac tristis veterum Sabinorum' (Livy, i. 18).

The Censor himself.] M. Porcius Cato effected such reforms during his Censorship (184 B.C.) that he was generally styled Cato the Censor. The authority for the story that he learned Greek in his old age is Cicero, who in his *De Senectute*, speaking in Cato's person, says, 'ut ego feci qui Græcas literas senex didici.'

Nævius.] A Roman epic and dramatic poet (274–204 B.C.), who lampooned the Metelli, one of the most powerful families at Rome, and was indicted for libel. The punishment was death (by the laws of the XII. Tables); but Nævius escaped with his life, and was released on recantation.

Plautus.] (254–184 B.C.) The greatest Roman Comedian. He wrote 130 comedies, most of which were imitations or translations of the Greek New Comedy to which Menander and Philemon belonged.

Libels were burnt by Augustus.] This statement is taken from the History of Dio Cassius (lvi. 27), who merely says that Augustus had a great search made for libellous publications in Rome and the provinces, and burnt them and punished *some* of the authors.

Lucretius.] (95–51 B.C.) The only great philosophical poet of Rome, who dedicated his great poem *De Natura Rerum*, an exposition of the system of Epicurus, to Memmius, a profligate statesman and man of letters of his time. It is stated in the Eusebian Chronicle that Cicero edited the poem of Lucretius. This is probably derived from Suetonius, and may be accepted as true though there is no other authority.

Lucilius.] (148–103 B.C.) The first great Roman satirist, whose works are all lost except a few fragments.

Catullus.] (87–46 B.C.) A licentious but powerful poet of Verona. His chief works are still extant.

Flaccus.] (65–8 B.C.) Quintus Horatius Flaccus, best known as Horace, the great Latin poet.

PAGE 25.

The Story of Titus Livius.] Story=history, narrative. Livy was born at Patavium, 59 B.C., and died 17 A.D. His history was in 142 books, of which 35 are still extant. His account of the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey is lost. Milton here quotes from a speech in Tacitus—'Titus Livius eloquentiæ ac fidei præclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiæ eorum offecit' (*Annal.* iv. 34). The name Milton here gives to Augustus is not quite correct; his original name was Caius Octavius, and after his adoption he assumed the name of Cæsar and was called C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. The title Augustus was afterwards added.

The other faction.] Faction (like the Latin *factio*) is not used necessarily in a bad sense by Milton. Cf.

'They around the flag Of each his faction.'—*Par. Lost*, ii. 900.

Naso.] Ovidius Naso (Ovid) was banished by Augustus to Tomi in 8 A.D., ostensibly for the licentiousness of his poetry; the real reason has never been discovered.

Porphyrius.] (233–305 A.D.) A celebrated philosopher of the Neo-Platonic school, and a great opponent of Christianity. His work Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν was answered by Eusebius.

Proclus.] (412–485 A.D.) A later philosopher of the same school, who lived at Athens. One of his works was called Ἐπιχειρήματα κατὰ Χριστιανῶν.

Carthaginian Council.] The *Third* Council of Carthage, A.D. 397.

Padre Paolo.] Pietro Sarpi, a Venetian monk, usually known as Father Paul; a man of extraordinary genius, learning and judgment. His chief works were a Treatise on Benefices and a Secret History of the Council of Trent. Born 1552, died 1623. See Appendix.

Engrossing.] Monopolising. The offence of '*engrossing*' commodities so often complained of in early English history was the buying up large quantities to increase or '*engross*' the price—hence the use here of 'monopolising.'

PAGE 26.

Martin V. was elected Pope at the Council of Constance, 1417 A.D.

Husse.] John Huss was a great preacher and reformer at Prague in Bohemia, who was burned for his opinions at Constance, 1415 A.D.

Leo X. (1513 A.D.) was the most famous of all the Popes as a patron of literature and art. He belonged to the great Medici family of Florence.

Expurging Indexes.] The list of forbidden books at Rome is called the *Index Expurgatorius.*

The keys of the Presse also.] In a controversy between Cardinal Baronius and the King of Spain on the subject of Kings licensing books rather than the ecclesiastical authorities, the Cardinal said, 'that it was to take out of S. Peter's hands, and putting into the Prince's, one of the keys given him by Christ, vid. that of knowledge to discern good customs from bad.'—Father Paul's *History of the Inquisition.*

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Davanzati Bostichi (1529–1606), a writer of Florence. His best work is a translation of Tacitus, reprinted in 1637, just before Milton's visit to Florence. He also wrote a History of England, strongly papal in its tone.

Chancellor of the holy office was the chief officer of the Inquisition.

Piatza.] (Lat. *platea*, Grk. πλατεῖα.) Used in its primary sense of 'a large open space.'

Ducking.] Making a show or pretence of obeisance. Cf.

'Duck with French nods and apish courtesies.'—Rich. III. i. 3.

To the spunge.] A Latinism for erasure, suppression. Compare the answer of Augustus to those who asked after his half-finished tragedy, 'Ajacem suum in spongiam incubuisse' (Suetonius, *Aug.*).

Responsories.] Those parts of the Liturgy that contain the Responses.

Antiphonies.] (ἀντί, φωνή.) Anthems and Canticles sung by two responsive choirs.

Lambeth House.] General literature had been licensed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who lived at Lambeth palace, or by the Bishop of London.

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Envious Juno.] Envious in its old sense of malicious, spiteful. Juno Lucina was supposed to preside over the birth of children, and her sitting crosslegged was a sign of her being unpropitious.

Radamanth.] Brother of Minos of Crete, and one of his colleagues as judge in the lower world. He ruled in Tartarus.

Limbo's.] (Lat. *limbus*, edge, border.) Purgatories. Limbo was a place on the border or edge of hell, supposed by the Church of Rome to be occupied by unbaptized infants, just heathen and others.

Inquisiturient.] Inquisitorial. A word coined by Milton in imitation of Latin desiderative verbs.

The attendant minorites.] Their chaplains *like* Friars. The Minorites or Friars Minor are Franciscan monks, one of whose rules is, 'Nullus vocetur Prior sed generaliter omnes vocentur *Fratres minores.*'

Page 29.

Lullius.] Raymond Lully, one of the earliest and most famous alchemists, was born in Majorca (1235). His great work is called 'Ars Magna.'

Moses.] 'Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' Acts. vii. 22.

Daniel.] See Daniel i. 4, 'whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.'

Paul.] The three quotations from Greek poets here referred to are, (1) τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, 'for we are also his offspring,' Acts xvii. 28. This is taken from the *Phænomena*, a poem by Aratus of Tarsus (270 B.C.); or from a hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes of Assus (300 B.C.). Probably both are referred to as 'certain of your own poets.' (2) φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners'—1 Cor. xv. 33. This is an iambic trimeter occurring in the *Lais* of Menander; but possibly he borrowed it, as Socrates the historian quotes it to show that St. Paul read Euripides; and Clement of Alexandria says that 'Paul makes use of a verse from a tragedy in writing to the Corinthians.' (3) Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, 'The Cretians are alway liars, evil beasts, slow bellies,' Titus i. 12. This is taken from Epimenides, a poet of Crete (596 B.C.).

Doctors.] Here used in its etymological meaning, teachers.

Julian the Apostate.] Emperor from 361 to 363 A.D. He apostatised from Christianity and forbade Christians to teach rhetoric, history, &c. in the schools; thus indirectly forbidding them the

study of heathen learning because they would not attend heathen teachers.

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The two Apollinarii.] These men, father and son, were respectively a presbyter and a bishop of Laodicea. When the above edict of Julian was carried into effect, the father wrote a grammar 'on a Christian model' and turned the Old Testament into poetry, an epic in imitation of Homer, and lyrics, tragedies and comedies after Pindar, Euripides and Menander. The son turned the New Testament into dialogues after Plato.

The seven liberall Sciences.] The seven sciences or arts (for they are known by both names) which were considered essential to a liberal education were — Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy.

Socrates (surnamed Scholasticus, i.e. the pleader) lived at Constantinople, and there wrote a History of the Church about his own times, from 306 to 439 A.D.

Decius.] Emperor from 249–251 A.D. He sorely persecuted the Christians in Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, but especially in Africa.

Diocletian.] Emperor 284–305 A.D. In his reign the cruellest persecution of the Christians took place. The date 284 A.D. was long known as an era—the Epoch of the Martyrs—in the Church.

St. Jerom.] (345–423 A.D.) One of the most voluminous and learned of the Fathers, and the translator of the Vulgate. This anecdote occurs in a letter to Eustochium, a nun whom Jerome wishes to deter from reading heathen writers. 'Let me tell you,' says he, 'how ill *I* fared in this. I used to fast and then read Cicero, and after frequent watchings and bitter tears drawn from my very soul by the remembrance of past sins, I would take up Plautus. The language of the Prophets seemed to me horribly uncouth. While thus deluded by the devil I fell into a terrible fever about the middle of Lent, and was well nigh dead. Suddenly, rapt in spirit, I was dragged to the bar of the great Judge. When asked who and what I was, I replied, "I am a disciple of Christ." But He who sat upon the throne answered and said, "Thou liest: thou art a disciple of Cicero and not of Christ, for where your treasure is there will your heart be also." I was struck dumb, and amid the many stripes which He ordered to be inflicted my conscience was a torment worse than fire. I cried out, "Lord, if ever from this time I possess or

read pagan books, I shall have renounced Thee." On these terms I was let off, and returned to this world.' (Jer. *ad Eustochium.*)

Scurrill Plautus.] Avoiding the ill sound of scurril*lous* Plau*tus*. Scurrilous is from the Latin *scurra*, a buffoon.

Basil.] (329–379.) One of the Greek Fathers and Bishop of Cæsarea.

Margites.] A comic poem named after its hero. It was probably written at Colophon in Asia Minor about 700 B.C., and is falsely ascribed to Homer.

Morgante.] Il Morgante Maggiore, a celebrated mock-heroic poem, by Luigi Pulci of Florence, published in 1485 A.D.

Romanze.] (Italian, *romanzo.*) A narrative poem or tale in verse, as in Italian. Milton uses *romance* for a tale in prose. The former meaning is the older, as for instance in Chaucer, 'The Romaunt of the Rose.'

PAGE 31.

Prove all things.] 1 Thess. v. 21.
To the pure all things are pure.] Titus i. 15.
Rise, Peter, kill and eat.] Acts x. 13.

PAGE 32.

Mr. Selden.] John Selden (1584–1654), the most learned man of his time, especially in legal and ecclesiastical antiquities. He was member for the University of Oxford in the Long Parliament. His chief works are 'On Titles of Honour,' 'A History of Tithes,' and his 'Table Talk' published after his death. The work here referred to is a tract 'De Jure Naturali ac Gentium juxta disciplinam Hebræorum.'

Exquisite reasons.] A Latinism—reasons carefully sought out. Cf. 'Philosophorum vero *exquisita* quædam *argumenta*.' Cicero, *De Div.* i. 3.

That omer which was every man's portion.] See Exodus xvi. 16 'Gather of it every man according to his eating, an omer for every man.' An omer = $\frac{1}{10}$ ephah, or nearly an English gallon.

For those actions.] 'For' is here a preposition (not a conjunction), and is equivalent to 'as regards.' Cf.

'*For* your intent
It is most retrograde to our desires.'—*Hamlet*, i. 2, 112.

The idea here is taken from Mark vii. 16.

To captivate.] In its old literal sense of to subdue, to enthral.

Salomon informs us.] The spelling is that of the Greek version (LXX), Σαλώμων. The verse is taken from Eccl. xii. 12.

PAGE 33.

Ephesian books.] See Acts xix. 19: 'Many of them also which used curious (i.e. magical) arts brought their books together and burned them.' These 'books' were probably only magic formulæ or written amulets.

Appointed.] Directed. Cf. 'He had appointed his wife to send him the Dutch Annotations on the Bible' (*Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*).

Psyche.] A reference to the curious allegorical story told by Apulleius. Psyche (the human soul), visited secretly by the God of Love, offended him by distrust. He left her, and she fell into the hands of cruel and jealous Venus, who treated her as a slave and gave her the hardest labours to perform. Eventually she was reconciled to Venus, and was made immortal and united to Love for ever. Among other tasks imposed by Venus, the story goes that 'giving her a mixture of wheat, barley, millet, poppy-seeds, peas, lentils, and beans, she said, "Separate me this promiscuous mass, and arrange the seeds according to their several kinds."' (Apulleius, bk. vi. 116.)

Knowing good by evil.] Cf. 'Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill' (*Par. Lost*, iv. 222).

A cloistered vertue.] A cloister (Lat. *claustrum*, Fr. *cloistre*, *cloître*) meant originally merely a place shut in, a retired spot; thus cloistered = retired, secluded, concealed. Cf. 'celata virtus' (Hor. *Odes*, iv. 9).

That immortal garland.] In imitation of the Latin use of 'ille = that famous one. Cf. 'That he may find mercy of the Lord in *that* day' (2 Tim. i. 18). For the sentiment here cf. 1 Cor. ix. 24, 25.

PAGE 34.

An excrementall whitenesse.] (Lat. *excernere*, *excretum*, to separate). Excrementall is extraneous, adventitious, not an intrinsic quality, but put on.

Spencer.] Edmund Spenser (1553-1599), the author of the

'Faery Queene.' The passage here referred to is in book ii. cantos 7, 12.

Scotus.] Duns Scotus, the subtle Doctor, was a Franciscan monk at Oxford about 1300. He was the most subtle of the Schoolmen.

Aquinas.] Thomas Aquinas (1227–1274), the Angelical Doctor, a Dominican friar and the greatest Roman Catholic theologian. His great work is his 'Summa Theologica.'

His palmer.] A pilgrim from the Holy Land, who usually carried a palm branch.

Yea the Bible itselfe.] Milton probably refers first to the Song of Solomon, and secondly to the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes.

A Talmudist.] A writer in the Talmud, the great collection of Jewish traditions, or a Rabbinical commentator generally. To account for Milton's frequent reference to Hebrew, it should be remembered that the study of this language was never so commonly or zealously pursued in England as in his time by the laity as well as the clergy. Lightfoot, Selden, Pococke, Walton, were all Orientalists of the highest repute and contemporaries of Milton.

His marginal Keri.] In the Hebrew text of the Bible there are often letters not pronounced, words that are not read, and other errors discovered by the Jews, who noted the fact in the margin. In such places the text is called Chetib (the writing), and the marginal reading Keri (the reading). These substitutions are sometimes merely euphemistic. 'The Rabbinical Scholiasts have often used to blur the margent with Keri instead of Ketiv, and gave us this insulse (i.e. stupid) rule out of their Talmud, that all words which in the Law are writ obscenely must be changed to more civil words.' (Milton's *Apology for Smectymnuus.*)

We know the Bible itselfe put into the first rank.] This use of the participle 'put' for the infinitive 'to be put' is a classical idiom.

Page 35.

Clement of Alexandria.] One of the Christian Fathers, who lived about 200 A.D. One of his chief works, 'The Hortatory Address to the Greeks,' is written to expose the impurities of heathen worship.

That Eusebian book.] One of the chief works of Eusebius was called 'A Preparation for the Gospel,' and consists mainly of ex-

tracts from heathen writers to prepare the mind to receive the Gospel.

Irenæus.] Bishop of Lyons about 180 A.D. His chief work is called 'A Treatise against Heresies,' written in Greek, but preserved only in a Latin translation.

Epiphanius.] (367–402.) Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus. His great work is called 'Panarium,' a discourse against Heresies.

Nor boots it to say.] Nor is it of any avail to say. In Old English *bot* = advantage. It is connected with better, booty, &c.

Petronius.] 'Inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est elegantiæ arbiter' (Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 18). He was consul in the reign of Nero, but fell before Tigellinus and committed suicide. He was probably the author of the licentious work, the 'Satiricon,' still extant; but modern scholars cannot speak more positively on this point than Milton, 'as *perhaps* did Petronius.'

That notorious ribald of Arezzo.] A ribald is a low, lewd fellow; originally it meant a noisy companion, from the Old French rabalter, to make a noise. Pietro Aretino is here meant. He was born at Arezzo (the ancient Arretium) in 1492, and was notorious for indecent and bitter satires. He called himself the scourge of the Italian princes, and many were content to purchase his silence.

Vicar of Hell.] A parody on the title assumed by the Pope, Vicar of Christ. It is not known certainly to whom Milton refers here. Some have supposed Thomas Cromwell; others John Skelton, the notorious poet of that age; others again Andrew Borde (from whose name we derive Merry Andrew). Probably it was some obscure man whose name could only have been preserved by some such notice as this.

Cataio.] Cathay was the usual spelling. 'In Marco Polo and the oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mangi distinguish the northern and southern empires of the great Khan and of the Chinese. The search of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and misled our navigators in their attempts to discover the North-east Passage' (Gibbon). The word is still used in poetry—for instance in Tennyson's *Locksley Hall*, 'Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.'

The Eunuch.] See Acts viii. 30: 'And Philip said, Understandest thou what thou readest? And he said, How can I, except some man should guide me?'

PAGE 36.

Sorbonists.] The Sorbonne was an ecclesiastical society or university at Paris, founded by Robert de Sorbonne in 1252. Its Faculty of Theology was the most famous in Europe for centuries.

Arminius.] (d. 1609.) A Protestant minister at Leyden who was chosen to confute some ministers that opposed Calvinism, and was converted by them.

Cautelous.] Given to cautels, full of cautels. Cautel is from the Latin law term *cautela*, security, and is used in a bad sense for craftiness, deceit. Cautelous here means 'wary,' 'suspicious.' Cf. 'Swear priests and cowards and men *cautelous*' (Shakspeare, *Jul. Cæsar*, ii. 1).

PAGE 37.

Prevented.] Anticipated, gone before. Cf. 'Lord, we pray that thy grace may always *prevent* and follow us' (Common Prayer).

PAGE 38.

Plato . . . his Commonwealth.] The 'Politeia' (or Republic) of Plato describes his ideal of a State and Government. It is a fanciful picture of a perfect Commonwealth, and is somewhat modified in his other work, 'The Book of his Laws' (Περὶ Νόμων).

An Academick night-sitting.] Plato lived and taught at the Academy, a suburb of Athens, and his disciples were called the Academic Philosophers. Their social meetings and banquets are here referred to.

Allowed it, i.e. approved it (derived from Latin *laudare*, Fr. *louer*). Cf. 'Use such speech as the meanest should well understand and the wisest best allow' (Ascham's *Scholemaster*). Also Luke xi. 48.

Plato meant this Law to that Commonwealth.] 'To' is often used for 'with a view to,' 'for' (compare the Greek εἰς). So 'Prepare yourself *to* death' (Shakspeare, *Winter's Tale*, iii. 1). 'Ere I had made a prologue *to* my brains' (*Hamlet*, v. 2).

Sophron Mimus.] Sophron of Syracuse (440 B.C.) wrote Mimes, a species of Doric broad comedy. Mimus (μῖμος) is properly used for the actor, not the writer, of these plays. 'This we know in Laertius, that the Mimes of Sophron were of such reckoning with

Plato as to take them nightly to read on, and after make them his pillow' (*Apology for Smectymnuus*).

PAGE 39.

Dorick.] Of the three ancient 'modes' of music, the Lydian, Phrygian, and Dorian, the last was usually chosen for solemn or martial music, and hence was allowed by Plato.

Twenty licensers.] Milton continually refers to the newly appointed licensers as *twenty* in round numbers. It is not merely used in an indefinite sense here. See pages 48, 52, 63.

Their Visitors to enquire what Lectures.] These words are used in a sense peculiar to Milton's own times. The Lecturers were chiefly Puritans who did not conform to the Church of England so as to get a cure of souls, but preached only on Sunday afternoons, and were maintained by the people. In 1629, Charles I. gave special instructions to the Bishops about 'the Lectures or Afternoon Sermons.' In consequence of this many of the Bishops instituted *visitations* to inquire about the Lectures in their dioceses.

Rebbeck.] A crowd or fiddle. It is a corruption of the Arabic *rubabah*, a guitar (Italian *ribebba* or *ribecca*, French *rebeque*). Cf. 'Al can they play on giterne or ribible' (Chaucer). The identity of the two forms is clear in Chaucer. In the Frere's Tale he uses both as names for an old woman, 'a widewe an old ribibe'—'here wonneth an old rebekke.'

Gammuth or gamut. Literally the musical scale, and hence music generally. It is derived from French *gamme*, a chime of bells, and *ut*, the first note in the scale.

Municipal fidler.] A town fiddler.

Arcadia's and Monte Mayors.] Pastoral tales and romances were favourite amusements of the upper classes. The Arcadia of Sanazzaro, an Italian, is the earliest of these romances. The Arcadia of Sir Philip Sydney was the best specimen in English. One of the most famous was the Diana written by George of Montemayor (in Spain) and translated into English in 1598 by Bartholomew Young.

England hears ill abroad.] A Latinism for 'has a bad name,' 'is ill spoken of.' Cf. 'Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream?' *P. L.* iii.) So 'bene audire a parentibus' (Cicero).

PAGE 40.

Atlantic and Eutopian polities.] Plato in the 'Timæus' and 'Kritias' describes an imaginary island, called Atlantis, to illustrate his own ideas of government and politics. Bacon followed the same plan in his unfinished romance, 'The New Atlantis.' Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia' also describes an imaginary model Commonwealth. Milton seems to derive Utopian from *εὖ τόπος* : it should be *οὐ τόπος*.

Pittance.] A monk's daily allowance, a dole (from *pite*, a morsel, connected with *petit*). Here it means 'being put on allowance,' 'restraint.'

Grammercy.] (*Grand merci*) great thanks.

Adam in the motions.] Motions were puppet plays. Cf. 'He compassed a *motion* of the Prodigal Son' (used of a vagabond) (*Winter's Tale*).

We esteem not of that.] 'Of' is frequently used after verbs of liking and disliking, as e.g. 'I am a husband if you like of me' (*Much Ado about Nothing*).

PAGE 41.

A provoking object.] Inviting, in a good sense. Cf. 'To *provoke* unto love and to good works' (Heb. x. 24).

PAGE 42.

That continued Court-libell.] The 'Mercurius Aulicus' was a paper published weekly from 1642–45 in the interests of the Court, by Sir John Birkenhead, Reader in Moral Philosophy at Oxford.

PAGE 43.

The model of Trent and Sevil.] Referring to the Council of Trent and the Spanish Inquisition, which was first placed at Seville. To a Puritan Parliament the Pope and the King of Spain were objects of special fear and hatred.

Sects refusing books.] Milton probably refers to those who were initiated into the various mysteries (such as the Eleusinian), all the doctrines and rites of which were purely traditional.

Journey-work.] Daily work (Fr. *journée*, Lat. *diurnus*). We still use 'journeyman' for a man who works by the day.

PAGE 44.

Of a sensible nostrill.] Of keen discernment. A Latinism. Cf. 'Aptus acutis naribus' (Horace, *Sat.* I. iii.). Sensible = sensitive.

The complaint and lamentation of Prelats.] When the Bill for abolishing Bishops, Deans, and Chapters was before the House of Commons, Dr. Hacket was heard in their defence (1641), and urged 'that their endowments were encouragements to Industry and Virtue, and were serviceable for the advancement of Learning.' These were the arguments usually adopted in their favour.

PAGE 45.

Love lerning for itselfe.] Waller the poet represents the other side well: 'Though it be true that grave and pious men do study for learning-sake and embrace virtue for itself, yet it is true that youth, which is the season when learning is gotten, is not without ambition, nor will ever take pains to excel in anything when there is not some hope of excelling others in reward and dignity' (Speech in favour of Episcopacy [1641]).

Ferular.] Lat. *ferula* (*ferio*), a rod.

Fescu or festue. (Lat. *festuca.*) It was sometimes used for *vindicta*, the rod with which the ceremony of manumitting slaves was performed. Hence probably its use here.

PAGE 46.

Expence of Palladian oyl, i.e. of literary labour. A Latinism. Cf. 'Ne opera et *oleum* philologiæ nostræ perierit' (Cicero). The name of Pallas as the goddess to whom the olive was sacred is used in Latin *poetry* for oil. Thus 'Ut vigil infusa *Pallade* flamma solet' (Ovid).

A punie.] A minor, an infant (Fr. *puis né*). So *puisne* judge, i.e. junior.

Idiot.] In old English, a man out of the faith. Cf. 'If ony unfeithful man or idiot' (Wicklif).

Melancholy = mortification. Cf. 'Being moved with *melancholy* to bear no good will' (Hall's *Chronicle*).

His patriarchal licencer.] In reference to the popular suspicion that Laud wished to become a Patriarch of the Western Church like

the Eastern rivals of the Pope. In some verses written against Laud in 1641 we have 'The little *Patriarcke* frets and fumes.'

To ding the book a coit's distance.] To *ding* is to dash, to hurl.

PAGE 47.

A coit's distance.] As we say, a stone's throw, the usual distance a quoit is thrown. To *coit* is to hurl, justle (Icelandic *kueita*).

The Reformer of a Kingdom.] The Reformation in Scotland was almost entirely due to the zeal and ability of John Knox (1505–72).

They will not pardon him their dash, i.e. remit, let him off their erasure.

To what an Author this hath bin lately done.] An edition of Knox's 'History of the Reformation in Scotland' was published in 1644 by David Buchanan, but it was disfigured by numerous omissions and interpolations. Some suppose that there is a reference to the posthumous volumes of Coke's 'Institutes,' published in 1641.

PAGE 48.

A stedfast dunce.] A confirmed, settled dunce.

Tickets, statutes and standards.] *Tickets* were acknowledgments for goods received on credit. Cf. 'They went on ticket for want of ready money' (Heylin). *Statutes* were bonds or securities for debts, given by merchants. *Standards* were fixed legal measures of fineness, quality, &c.

A staple commodity.] One subject to the king's *staple* or place *established* for paying taxes, import dues, &c. This was especially important in respect of cloth and wool. We still speak of woolstaplers.

Divulged=published in its technical use. 'This was printed and carefully divulged over the kingdom' (Clarendon).

PAGE 49.

Laick rabble.] (Lat. *laicus*, Gr. λαός) not clerical, uneducated, vulgar.

PAGE 50.

Enchiridion.] (Gr. ἐγχειρίδιον.) Sometimes, as in Greek, a dagger, but usually, as in Latin, a handbook, a manual.

The Castle of St. Angelo.] The great fortress and often the refuge of the Popes, which commands the main access to Rome, here of course used figuratively.

Fustian.] Literally a rough cloth from Fustat in Egypt, then bombast, stuff.

The famous Galileo.] In 1632 Galileo suffered a short term of imprisonment for accepting the Copernican system. He was soon released, but was kept under some restrictions in his villa at Florence. Milton visited him in 1638 when he was upwards of seventy years old.

PAGE 51.

If without envy.] (Lat. *invidia*) 'without being invidious.' Cf. 'He had the legates between him and the *envy or odium* of it' (Burnet).

An honest Quæstorship.] Honest is probably used in its older sense of 'honourable' (Lat. *honestus*). Cicero was Quæstor in Sicily, B.C. 75, and was very popular and successful in office. He was prevailed on by the Sicilians to prosecute Verres for misgovernment and oppression while Prætor in the island. Cicero took the case up so earnestly that Verres retired and went into exile.

Bishops and Presbyters are the same.] The Puritan party laboured much to prove the original identity of these Church officers. This was one point of the controversy between Bishop Hall and the 'Smectymnuan divines.' Milton is often provoked by the inconsistency of the Presbyterians into putting them on a level with the hierarchy. See his poem 'On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament,' ending, 'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.'

A mysticall pluralist.] A pluralist in a secret, intangible way, in a metaphorical sense. Pluralities, the holding of two or more benefices by one person, gave rise to the most bitter complaints of the Puritan party. Cf. 'The Earl wrote a letter in which he mystically expressed some new design' (Clarendon).

Sole ordination.] Bishop Hall, in his contest with Smectymnuus for Episcopacy, specially insists on (1) The Sole Right of Ordination, (2) The Sole Right of Spiritual Jurisdiction. Both of these his opponents deny.

PAGE 52.

To chop an Episcopacy, i.e. to change (Old English ceapian, to cheapen, bargain, &c.) It is now seldom used but of the wind. So the chops of the Channel are the parts liable to changes of wind and tide.

PAGE 53.

Their own arguments might remember them.] Remember = remind, Cf. 'And yet I must remember you, my lord,
We were the first and dearest of your friends.'
1 *Henry IV.* v. i.
Clarendon relates how the severity of the Star-chamber Court against Prynne, Bastwick, and Leighton roused great popular indignation and damaged the royal cause.

The punishing of wits.] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 15, 'punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas.'

Professors.] Cf. 'A diocese in which there were as many strict *professors of religion* (commonly called Puritans) as in any part' (May).

Loretto near Ancona, Italy. Famous for the Casa Santa, the house said to have been the Virgin Mary's at Nazareth, and transported by angels.

PAGE 54.

A dividuall movable.] What can be separated and removed: dividuall = separable or separate. Cf. 'From her hath no dividual being' (*P. L.* xii. 85).

Malmsey.] An old-fashioned, strong, sweet wine, from Malvasia in the Morea.

Bruage = beverage (Fr. *breuvage*), or from brew, what is brewed, just as 'carriage' was used for what is carried (Acts xxi. 15); so luggage, baggage.

Whose morning *appetite would have fed on* green *figs.*] Combining Matt. xxi. 18, 'Now in the morning as he returned into the city, he hungered,' with Mark xi. 13, 'The time of figs was not yet.'

Publicans.] A Latinism (*publicani*). Tax-gatherers, toll-collectors.

Tunaging and poundaging.] The duties of tunnage and poundage were chiefly three shillings per tun of wine, and one shilling per pound on other articles imported. They were collected like the

modern customs, but were exceedingly unpopular at this time because collected without consent of Parliament.

PAGE 55.

Hercules pillars.] The two rocks, Calpe and Abyla, on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar. They were regarded by the ancients as the end of the world. Hence the meaning here is 'having reached the goal of life.'

A topic folio.] A folio common-place book (*τόποι*, common-places).

A Harmony and a Catena.] A Harmony of the Gospels is intended to explain the seeming discrepancies in the four Gospels, and frame a connected narrative out of them. A Catena (Lat. *catena*, a chain) is a regular series of extracts, and usually a Commentary on the Scriptures taken from the Fathers.

Interlinearies, breviaries, synopses.] Interlinear translations and abridgments. The word breviary is now confined to the abridged service-book in common use in the Church of Rome, but was formerly applied to all abridgments. Synopses was generally used for condensed commentaries or collections of criticisms; the best known Pool's *Synopsis Criticorum*, was published in 1669.

Our London trading St. Thomas.] This curious passage is supposed to refer to certain of the London clergy who sold their sermons in the vestries of their churches.

Impaled.] Surrounded, defended, paled in. Cf.

'Impaled
On every side with shadowing squadrons deep.'
P. L. vi. 553.

PAGE 56.

Hold the truth guiltily.] Cf. Rom. i. 18, 'Men who hold the truth in unrighteousness.'

Christ urged it.] John xviii. 20, 'I spake openly to the world . . . and in secret have I said nothing.'

PAGE 57.

Mystery.] From being used for trade secrets this word came to mean a trade or handicraft; then (like the modern familiar use of

'the trade') it was used for the guild or associated fraternity of a trade; lastly, for contrivance, trickery, artful management, as here, and in 'So apt in regal arts and regal mysteries' (*P. L.* iii. 248). For its earlier use compare

'In Youth he lerned hadde a good mistere
He was a wel good wright, a carpentere.'—Chaucer.

Possibly there is a confusion between *mysterium* and *ministerium* throughout.

The Turk upholds his Alcoran.] Al-coran, *the* Koran, the sacred book of Mohammedans. Printing was not allowed in Turkey till 1723.

The mortalle glass—the beatific vision.] 1 Cor. xiii., 'Now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face.' The beatific vision is the term used by old theologians for that vision of GOD which is the reward of His saints.

Ægyptian Typhon.] The reference is to the old legend that Osiris, the god of the Nile, was murdered by Typhon, and his body torn to pieces and scattered far and wide, while his wife Isis spent years in collecting the fragments. Plutarch in his 'Isis and Osiris' allegorizes the story: Isis is Knowledge (εἴδω) and Typhon (τύφω) is Pride or Error.

An immortall feature.] Feature is in old English 'form' or 'symmetry of form.' Thus Henry VIII's aversion to Anne of Cleves 'encreased more and more for her want of beauty and *feature*' (Stow). So 'Bemonster not thy *feature* . . . A woman's *shape* doth shield thee' (*King Lear*).

PAGE 58.

Combust.] Quenched in the Sun's light. A term in Astrology for a planet which is too near the sun for observation. Cf. 'Mercury is for the most part ever in combustion or obscurity' (Sir Henry Wootton).

Economicall.] (Gr. *οἰκονομικός.*) In its literal sense, domestic, household.

Zuinglius and Calvin.] These are regarded as one party, and thus the verb is singular, 'hath beaconed.' Zuinglius was the great Swiss Reformer of Zurich, who died in battle, 1531. Calvin (1509–1564) was the greatest of the Geneva divines who were followed by the English Puritans.

Syntagma.] System. Syntax is 'arranging,' and 'syntagme' (the English form, as Marvell has it) is 'the thing arranged:' the latter, however, has become obsolete.

PAGE 59.

Writers of good antiquity.] E.g., 'Britannia celebrat tantis cærimoniis ut dedisse Persis videri possit' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 4). The doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls taught by Pythagoras was also held by the Druids, who are here referred to in 'the old philosophy of this Iland.'

Civill.] Politic, statesmanlike.

Julius Agricola.] Proconsul in Britain (78–84 A.D.) for Domitian His life was written by his son-in-law Tacitus, and from it Milton here quotes ('ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre').

The Transilvanian.] Transylvania was independent from 1526–1699, and during this time the people adopted the Socinian creed. They sent out emissaries into England, Holland, and other countries, to make proselytes among men of learning and distinction. These missionaries often assumed the character of learners and possible converts in order by judicious flattery to gain their ends, and they seem to have deceived Milton. This seems the most likely explanation of the passage in question. See Mosheim (Cent. xvii. chap. vi.) for an account of this plan and the detection of some of its supporters.

The Hercynian wilderness.] Hercynia silva was the Latin name for the mountains of Southern Germany, from the source of the Danube eastward.

Jerom of Prague, one of the Bohemian reformers, second only to John Huss, whom he followed at the stake at Constance, 1416.

Demean'd.] Managed, ruled (connected with domain, dominion, Lat. *dominus*). Cf.

> 'To let a fool have governaunce
> Of things that he cannot demaine.'
> Chaucer, *House of Fame*, ii. 417.

PAGE 60.

Plates.] Armour had not been entirely discarded in Milton's time. Cromwell's own regiment were Cuirassiers, and wore breast-

plates. It must be remembered that the Londoners at this time were making great efforts to equip troops for the Parliament.

Towardly.] Tractable, manageable, yielding.

Five months yet to harvest.] Quoted from John iv. 35, somewhat inaccurately.

PAGE 61.

As Pirrhus did.] Pyrrhus, King of Epeirus (318–272 B.C.), made war on the Romans, but after some successes was finally defeated. Milton here quotes from Florus: 'Adeo Pyrrhus miratus est ut diceret, O quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare aut mihi Romanis militibus aut me rege Romanis!' (I. 18).

Moses . . . . Joshua.] See Numbers xi. 27–29.

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The Adversarie.] Probably the Church of Rome, which has always boasted of its unity, and rejoiced in the divisions of Protestants.

Maniples.] (Lat. *manipuli.*) Lit. handfuls, i.e. small companies of soldiers.

Suburb trenches.] A large entrenchment had lately been drawn round London and its suburbs. In November 1642, Charles I. marched suddenly from Oxford for London, and reached Brentford, seven miles from the city; but here Essex met him, and he retired. The panic in London was extreme, as there were then no fortifications. At this very time Dr. Wallis and others were holding those weekly philosophical meetings in London which were the germ of the Royal Society.

Hannibal.] (Livy, xxvi. 11.) When Hannibal was at the walls of Rome the land on which he was encamped was sold with no diminution of the price. This was probably a ruse to keep up the spirits of the people.

PAGE 63.

Pertest.] Quickest, liveliest. Pert is a Welsh word.

Casting off the old and wrincl'd skin.] A metaphor taken from the snake, which renews its skin and apparently its youth.

Muing.] (Lat. *mutare.*) Changing, renewing; especially used of birds, moulting.

Unscaling.] Cf. Acts ix. 18, 'There fell from his eyes as it had been scales.'

The whole noise.] 'A noise of musicians anciently signified a concert or company of them.' So probably—

'When straight a barbarous *noise* environs me
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs.'

Sonnet, xi.

The simile is taken from Pindar, 'παγγλωσσίᾳ κόρακες ὡς ἄκραντα γαρυέμεν Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον' (*Olymp. II.*).

Page 64.

Erected.] (Lat. *erigo.*) Aroused, animated.

Exactest things.] Most perfect.

An abrogated law.] The Roman law gave a father the power of life and death over his children.

Not he who takes up armes for cote and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegeld.] Those who took up arms to resist comparatively trifling encroachments on their liberty, paltry extortions of money, would not be the men to maintain a tyranny over their own thought and expression. The reference is to John Hampden, whose opposition to Ship-money was so notorious. The tax in his case was only twenty shillings (three nobles).

Cote (or Coat money) was a tax imposed on counties by the king for clothing any new levies he might raise.

Conduct was a tax for defraying the cost of conducting troops to any place, and feeding them on the march. Both these taxes had long been obsolete, but had been revived by Charles I. in his endeavour to govern without a Parliament. Clarendon says that petitions were presented to the Long Parliament 'against Lords Lieutenants of Counties and their Deputy Lieutenants for having levied money upon the country for *conducting* and *clothing* of soldiers' (*Hist. of Rebellion*, i. 279). The managers of Laud's trial alleged against him his 'illegal pressures of Tonnage and Poundage without Act of Parliament, Ship-money, *Coat* and *Conduct-money*, Soap-money,' &c.

Danegeld.] Milton seems to confound this with Ship-money. The Danegeld was a tax originally levied in order to buy off the Danes in the reign of Æthelred (991 A.D.). The unpopular name was applied to the taxes imposed by the Danish kings for the sup-

port of their fleets and armies, and from that time was the usual name for extraordinary and hateful imposts.

Ship-money really took its rise from a vote of the Witenagemot, in 1008, to enable Æthelred to raise a fleet. This was raised from inland counties as well as those on the coast. The tax was, of course, obsolete in the time of Charles I., but the *mode* of levying it was regular, and the cause sufficient; its illegality consisted in its being done without consent of Parliament.

PAGE 65.

The Lord Brooke.] Robert Grevil, Lord Brooke, was the son of Fulk Grevil, the friend of Sir Philip Sydney. He was a prominent politician and a bitter enemy to the hierarchy. His book here referred to is entitled 'A Discourse touching Episcopacy.' He met with his death in 1642, while assaulting St. Chad's (the cathedral) Church at Lichfield, at the head of the Parliamentary forces. The Parliament expressed the deepest sorrow at the death of 'the most noble and ever-to-be-honoured and renowned pious Lord Brooke, whose most illustrious Name and Memory deserves to remain deeply engraven in Letters of Gold on high erected Pillars of Marble;' but Archbishop Laud, in his Diary, says: 'First observe that this great and unknown enemy to Cathedral Churches died thus fearfully in the assault of a Cathedral; secondly, that this happened upon St. Chad's day, of which Saint the Cathedral bears the name.'

His vote.] (Lat. *votum.*) His prayer, desire.

The Temple of Janus.] There was no *Temple* to Janus at Rome. A passage or *porta triumphalis* bore his name, and was open during war, and shut during peace.

Controversal.] Turned in opposite directions, referring to the usual two-headed form of the god—'Jani bifrontis imago.' Milton seems to be punning on controversial.

The discipline of Geneva.] The teaching of Calvin and the other leaders copied by the Puritans. This is the original meaning of discipline (Lat. *disciplina*).

PAGE 66.

Collusion.] Deception, fraud.

To seek for wisdom.] Prov. ii. 4, 'If thou searchest for her as for hid treasures.'

A battell.] Formerly the battle was a particular part of the army, the main body as distinguished from the van and rear. Cf. 'And now their mightiest quelled, the *battle* swerved.'—*P. L.* vi. 386.

A narrow bridge of Licensing.] These are all metaphors taken from the usual adventures in the 'Romances of Knight Errantry,' such as the 'Cid,' 'Amadis of Gaul,' &c.

Old Proteus.] An old sea-god, who possessed the knowledge of the future, and the power of transforming himself into any shape whatever. See Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 390–414.

Micaiah.] See 1 Kings xxii. 15–17.

Those ordinances.] Coloss. ii. 14, 'Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us; and took it away, nailing it to his cross.'

PAGE 67.

He who eats or eats not.] See Rom. xiv. 6.

The ghost of a linnen decency.] That the Presbyterians were afraid of offending against the formal, external proprieties they had just abolished, is Milton's meaning. Curran's sarcasm is not inappropriate here, 'A murderer is always afraid of a ghost.' Compare, 'They bedeckt the church not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure *linnen*, . . . terming the pybald frippery and ostentation of ceremonies, *decency*' (Milton, *Of Church Reformation*).

We care not to keep; i.e. we do not mind keeping, are not disturbed about keeping.

Wood and hay and stubble.] See 1 Cor. iii. 12, and so again below.

Subdichotomies.] (A hybrid, sub, δίχα, τέμνω.) Successive divisions by two.

The Angels Ministry.] See Matt. xiii. 24–30, 47–49.

Should be extirpat.] Many verbs in -t, -te, and -d used to form the past tense and participle without adding -ed, for euphony's sake. Many of these may, however, be regarded as verbal adjectives from the Latin participles in -atus. Thus, 'In thoughts more *elevate* and reasoned high' (*P. L.* viii. 558). Here there is the additional reason that the next word ends in -ed. Compare 'scurrill Plautus,' p. 30.

PAGE 68.

Maners, i.e. morals.] (Lat. *mores.*) Cf. 'Evil communications corrupt good manners' (1 Cor. xv. 33).

The unity of Spirit.] See Eph. iv. 3, 'Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'

To see to.] To behold, regard. Cf. Josh. xxii. 10, 'A great altar to see to.'

PAGE 69.

Appointed.] Directed. See p. 33.

Set places and assemblies.] The Convocation used to meet in the Chapter-house at Westminster, though sometimes adjourned to the Chapel. The Westminster Assembly of Divines, 'for settling the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England,' was summoned by Parliament 'to meet in the Chapel called King Henry VII.'s Chapel on July 1, 1643.'

Canonized.] Decreed as sound doctrine, authorised. κανονίζειν, to receive into the canon of Scripture.

Harry the 7.] This monarch is buried in the Chapel which he built at Westminster.

PAGE 70.

That triple ice.] Cf. 'Æs triplex circa pectus erat' (Horace, *Odes*, I. iii.).

The check that Moses gave.] See Num. xi. 28, 29.

The countermand which our Saviour gave.] See Luke ix. 49.

Young John.] There is a very old tradition that John was much younger than the other Apostles, due probably to the fact that he survived them all.

This lett of Licencing.] Hindrance. Cf. 'Without let or hindrance.'

The most Dominican part.] The most thorough, tyrannical. St. Dominic (1170–1221) was the real founder of the Inquisition, and Dominican friars were always the most thorough and cruel Inquisitors.

PAGE 71.

Authentic.] Proper to, peculiarly belonging to. Cf. 'On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire' (*P. L.* iv. 719).

A Star-chamber decree.] The Court of Star Chamber was so called from the room (*camera stellata*) at Westminster in which it sat. It was well known in the reign of Edward III., but gradually declined in power and influence till it was practically extinct. It was re-established by Henry VIII., and from that time till its

abolition in 1641 it had very wide civil and criminal jurisprudence, and was a powerful instrument for asserting the royal prerogative.

State prudence.] Public policy. Prudence alone has this meaning too. Cf.

'Of ancient Prudence here he ruminates,
Of rising Kingdoms and of falling States.'—Waller.

Patentees.] Those who were allowed 'by letters patent' to monopolise the sale or manufacture of some article. Letters patent (*literæ patentes*) were addressed by the king to all his subjects, and were so called because they were not sealed up; the great seal being attached to the bottom.

Glosing colours.] Glosing is flattering, deceitful. Cf. 'Words of glosing courtesy' (Comus). Colours are specious external appearances, vain shows, excuses.

Malignant books.] Malignant was the term used by the Puritans for Royalist throughout the Civil War. A Parliamentary Committee was appointed to examine the clergy as to '*malignancy* and disaffection to the Parliament.'

Sophisms and Elenchs of marchandize.] From the special regard paid in the Order of 1643 to the privileges of the Stationers' Company, Milton suspects them of being the real authors. Thus he means here traders' arguments. Sophisms are fallacies, deceitful arguments. Elenchs (ἐλέγχειν, to refute, convict), their answers or refutations. Thus, 'The more subtle forms of Sophisms and Illaqueations with their Redarguations, which is that which is termed Elenchs' (Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, book ii.).

Page 72.

A plain advertisement.] Mere information, calling the attention to a thing in a plain honest way without bribery or flattery.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE following extract from Macaulay's History illustrates the force of Milton's arguments and the practical consequences of their acceptance :—

'The libels on William's person and government were decidedly less coarse and rancorous during the latter half of his reign than during the earlier half. And the reason evidently is that the press, which had been fettered during the earlier half of his reign, was free during the latter half. While the censorship existed, no tract blaming, even in the most temperate and decorous language, the conduct of any public department, was likely to be printed with the approbation of the licenser. To print such a tract without the approbation of the licenser was illegal. In general, therefore, the respectable and moderate opponents of the Court, not being able to publish in the manner prescribed by law, and not thinking it right or safe to publish in a manner prohibited by law, held their peace and left the business of criticising the administration to two classes of men —fanatical non-jurors, who hated the ruling powers with an insane hatred; and Grub Street hacks, coarseminded, badhearted, and foulmouthed. . . . The emancipation of the press produced a great and salutary change. The best and wisest men in the ranks of the opposition now assumed an office which had hitherto been abandoned to the unprincipled or the hotheaded. Tracts against the Government were written in a style not misbecoming statesmen and gentlemen, and even the compositions of the lower and fiercer class of malcontents became somewhat less brutal and less ribald than formerly.

Some weak men had imagined that religion and morality stood in need of the protection of the licenser. The event signally proved that they were in error. In truth the censorship had scarcely put any restraint on licentiousness or profaneness. The 'Paradise Lost' had narrowly escaped mutilation: for the 'Paradise Lost' was the work of a man whose politics were hateful to the government. But Etherege's 'She Would If She Could,' Wycherly's 'Country Wife,' Dryden's Translations from the Fourth Book of Lucretius, obtained the Imprimatur without difficulty: for Etherege, Wycherly, and Dryden were courtiers. From the day on which the emancipation of our literature was accomplished, the purification of our literature began. That purification was effected not by the intervention of senates or magistrates, but by the opinion of the great body of educated Englishmen before whom good and evil were set, and who were left free to make their choice. During a hundred and sixty years the liberty of our press has been constantly becoming more and more entire; and during those hundred and sixty years the restraint imposed on writers by the general feeling of readers has been constantly becoming more and more strict. At length even that class of works in which it was formerly thought that a voluptuous imagination was privileged to disport itself—love songs, comedies, novels—have become more decorous than the sermons of the seventeenth century. At this day foreigners, who dare not print a word reflecting on the government under which they live, are at a loss to understand how it happens that the freest press in Europe is the most prudish.' (Vol. iv. p. 609.)

II.

The following extract bears a remarkable resemblance to many parts of the Areopagitica: we find here the Three Laws which Milton discusses, the same curious anecdotes, the same facts, and even the same approximate dates, from early Christian history. The inference seems to be irresistible that

Milton borrowed largely. The extract is from Father Paul's 'History of the Council of Trent,' a work which had been obtained with great difficulty and translated by Sir Nathanael Brent, Vicar-General in Laud's time, but afterwards an adherent of the Parliamentary party. The first edition appeared in 1619 and the second in 1640.

'In the Church of Martyrs there was no ecclesiastical prohibition, though some godly men made Conscience of reading bad Books, for fear of offending against one of the three points of the Law of GOD, to avoid the contagion of evil; not to expose oneself to temptation, without necessity or profit; and not to spend time vainly. These Laws being natural do remain always, and should oblige us to beware of reading bad Books, though there were no Ecclesiastical Law for it. But these respects ceasing, the example of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, a famous Doctor, did happen, who about the year of our Lord 240, being reprehended by his Priests for these causes, and troubled with these respects had a vision that he should read all Books, because was he able to judge of them. Yet they thought there was greater danger in the Books of the Gentiles, than of the Hereticks, the reading whereof was more abhorred and reprehended because it was more used by Christian Doctors for a vanity of learning Eloquence. For this cause St. Hierom, either in a vision or in a sleep was beaten by the Devil; so that about the year 400, a Council in Carthage did forbid to read the Books of the Gentiles, but allowed them to read the Books of the Hereticks; the Decree whereof is amongst the Canons collected by Gratian. And this was the first prohibition by way of Canon; but there are others by counsel of the Fathers to be regulated according to the Law of GOD before recited. The Books of Hereticks, containing Doctrine condemned by Councils, were often forbid by the Emperours for good government. So Constantine forbad the Books of Arrius; Arcadius those of the Eunomians and Manichees; Theodosius those of Nestorius; Martianus those of the Euticheans; and in Spain the King Ricaredus those of the Arrians. It sufficed the Councils and Bishops to shew

what Books did contain damned or Apocryphal Doctrine. So did Gelasius in 494, and went no further, leaving it to the Conscience of everyone to avoid them or read them to a good end. After the year 800, the Popes of Rome as they assumed a great part of the politick government, so they caused the Books, whose authors they did condemn, to be burned, and forbad the reading of them. Notwithstanding one shall find but few Books forbid in that sort, until this age. A general prohibition of reading Books containing Doctrine of Hereticks or suspected of Heresies upon pain of excommunication without any further sentence was not used. Martinus V. doth in a Bull excommunicate all the Sects of Heretics, especially Wiglefists and Hussites, not mentioning those who read their Books though many of them went about. Leo X. condemning Luther, did withal forbid all his Books, upon pain of excommunication. The Popes following in the Bull called *In Cœna* having condemned and excommunicated all Hereticks, did excommunicate those also who read their Books; and in other Bulls against Hereticks in general did thunder the same censures against the readers of their Books. This did rather breed a confusion. For the Hereticks not being condemned by name, one was to judge of the Books more by the quality of the Doctrine than by the name of the Authors, wherein divers men, being of divers opinions, many scruples of conscience did arise. The Inquisitors being more diligent, made Catalogues of those whom they knew, which not being confessed were not sufficient to remove the difficulty. Philip King of Spain was the first that gave a more convenient form, in the year 1558, making a Law, that the Catalogue of Books prohibited by Inquisition should be printed. According to this example Paul IV. also ordained that an Index should be composed by that office and printed; and so it was in the year 1559. . . This Index was divided into three parts. The first containeth the names of those, all whose works, of what argument soever, though profane, are forbidden. The second containeth the names of the Books which are particularly condemned, others of the same authors not being condemned. In

the third some Books are condemned without a name, but only by a general rule that all those are forbidden which bear not the names of the Authors, written after the year 1519. . . That Inquisition went so far that it made a Catalogue of sixty-two Printers, and prohibited all Books printed by them of what Author, Art, or Idiome soever; with an addition of more weight; that is, and Books printed by such Printers who have printed Books of Heretics; so that there scarce remained a Book to be read.'

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